

English Reprints

SIR THOMAS MORE

Utopia

Originally Printed in Latin, 1516

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY
RALPH ROBINSON

SOMETIME FELLOW OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD

His Second and Revised Edition, 1556: preceded by
the Title and Epistle of his First Edition

EDITED BY
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INTRODUCTION.



UTOPIA—probably written the second book at Antwerp about November 1515, and the first in London in the early part of 1516—was first published abroad. It was printed by Theodore Martin at Louvain, under the editorship of Erasmus, Ægidius, Paludanus and other of More's friends in Flanders, towards the end of 1516.

More then revised it, and, through Erasmus, it was sent to John Frobenius at Basle to print. This more sumptuous and, as regards authorship, second edition—probably containing the standard text—bears the date of November 1518. In the meantime however, a friend of Erasmus, the Englishman Thomas Lupset, brought out a reprint of the first edition at Paris, which was printed by Gilles de Gourmont before March 1518; and which is therefore in point of time, the second edition, the Basle one, being the third, and one at Vienna in 1519, the fourth in order of appearance. All four were in Latin, then the common familiar language of the learned.

By a strange fate, not a single copy of this work, in any language whatsoever, was printed in England in More's lifetime: or indeed prior to these English versions of Ralph Robinson. Yet—despite its original Latin garb—the work is essentially English, and will ever reckon among the treasures of our literature.

Without some acquaintance with Sir Thomas More's life, one might be apt to assume *Utopia* to be entirely his own work, and the persons named in it to be fictitious. He wrote the letter to Petrus Ægidius, and the two books of Raphael's communication. Erasmus' letter to Frobenius (not here translated) was printed by him in the Basle edition of 1518. The following also contributed to the earlier Latin editions.

PETRUS ÆGIDIUS, the PETER GILES of this translation, [b. 1490—d. 1555], secretary to the municipality of Antwerp. *Wrote a letter translated at pp. 163-166*

JOHN CLEMENT [d. x July 1572] at the time More's attendant, afterwards Professor of Greek at Oxford. *See p. 23*

JOHN PALUDANUS, *Cassiliensis*, 'an ancient friend' of Erasmus, *p. 71*; contributed to the first edition, a letter and a poem *not translated by Robinson*

JEROME BUSLEYDEN, latinized BUSLIDIUS [b. 1470—d. 27 Aug. 1517] a rich

generous *diplomat*. Fourder of the College of the three languages (Latin, Greek, Hebrew), at Louvain. He wrote a letter to More, *not translated by Robinson*.

GERARD BRONCHROST, of Nimeguen in Latin NOVIMAGUS [b. 1494—d. 1570]. Sometime Mathematical Professor at Rostock, wrote a short poem, *see p. 167*.

CORNELIUS SCHRYVER, latinized GRAPHÆUS [b. 1482—d. 19 Dec. 1558] made in 1533 secretary to the municipality of Antwerp, also contributed a short poem, *see p. 167*.

WILLIAM BUDE, latinized BUDEUS or BUDÆUS [b. 1467—d. 23 Aug. 1540] the most learned Frenchman of his time. His letter to Lupset first appeared in the Paris edition of 1518, *not included by Robinson*.

THOMAS LUPSET [b. 1498—d. 27 Dec. 1532] While studying at Paris edits second edition of *Utopia*. Afterwards becomes Lecturer in Rhetoric at Oxford.

Utopia is worthy of multiformed study. Not only from its reflection of the character, principles, and merry wit of its author; from its proposed solutions of such social problems, as the scarcity or overplus of population, the prevention of famines, and the like: but also from its reference of the condition of the poor, especially the 'bondmen,' the then dying out 'villénage' of England, from its allusions to the late, as well as to the present English king; from its survey of Continental politics in 1516: and on other accounts.

The furthest discovery of Amerigo Vespucci in his fourth voyage, along the coast-line of Brazil, appears to have been Cape Frio. Sir Thomas More apparently refers to Deodati's collection, in speaking of 'those our voyages that be nowe in printe, and abroad in every mannes handes;' which, in Latin, was first published in 1507, under the title of *Quattuor America Vespuitii Navigationes*. Near the end of this tract is the following account of what occurred on 3 April, 1504.

Relictus igitur in castello præfato Christianocolis. xxxiiij. et cum illis. xij. machinis ac alijs plurimus armis/ una cum prouisione pro sexse mensibus sufficiente/ . . .

On this passage More hangs his whole fiction. This is the carefully concealed starting-point of the imaginary portion of his work. Thence the Portuguese Hythlodæ wanders to the island of 'Nowhere,' which to More's mind was 'beyond the line equinoctial' between Brazil and India. There for five years and more Hythlodæ studied the laws and habits of a community (allowing the very low average of 20 persons to each of the 6000 households of the 54 cities) of 6,500,000

persons; not including their countrey population or outlying 'forreyne towns.' At length, returning home from India in the Portugese fleet, Hythlodaye is represented as introduced by Peter Ægidius to More in the doorway of Antwerp Cathedral: whence all three adjourn to the garden in Sir Thomas' house, where, on a bench 'covered with torues' they, with John Clement, listen a whole day to the story of Hythlodaye: the contents of the first book being recounted before dinner: and those of the second between dinner and supper.

Hythlodaye may well say 'that this nation took their beginninge of the Grekes, because their speche . . . kepeth dyuers signes and tokens of the greke language in the names of their cities, and of their magistrates:' as, for example, the following:—

ENGLISH.	LATIN	GREEK.
Utopia	Utopia [=Nusquama]	οὐ, <i>no</i> ; τόπος, <i>place</i> .
Hythlodaye	Hythlodæus	ὕθλος [=nugæ] <i>non/sense</i> .
Achoriens	Archorii	ἄχορος, <i>joyless, wretched</i> .
Macariens	Macarensii	μάκαρ, <i>blest, happy</i> .
Amurot	Amurotus	ἄμαυρος, <i>shadowy, unknown</i> .
Anyder	Anydrus	ἄνυδρος, <i>waterless</i> .
Phylarch	Phylarchus	φύλος αρχή, <i>chief of the tribe</i> .

There is an essential difference of purpose in the somewhat similar works of Plato and More. In the *Republic*, Plato, in the person of Socrates, endeavours 'thoroughly to investigate the real nature of justice and injustice,' by first investigating their character in cities, and afterwards by applying 'the same inquiry to the individual, looking for the counterpart of the greater as it exists in the form of the less'†. More, in the person of Hythlodaye, looking round the world, perceives nothing 'but a certain conspiracy of rich men procuring their own commodities under the name and title of the common wealth.'‡ Plato endeavours to attain to an exact idea of an abstract virtue: More seeks to devise a system in which the poor shall not perish for lack, nor the rich be idle through excuse of their riches: in which *every one is equally* of the commonwealth, and in which the commonwealth possess only a common wealth.

‡ p. 118 † *The Republic of Plato* Ed by J. L. DAVIES, M.A., and D. J. VAUGHAN, M.A. p. 52. 3rd Ed 1866. ‡ p. 159

Circumstances
connected with the earlier issues
of
UTOPIA.

Referred to in *Letters & Papers Foreign & Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII*
Arranged and Catalogued by Rev J S BREWER, M.A.
London, 1864

- 1515 [Feb 7] [London?] MORE to ERASMUS *Letters, &c* ii 430
More's embassy has been successful, but tedious, has been away more than six months Has formed a close intimacy with Pet Giles [Ægidius] of Antwerp
- 1516 Oct 31 London MORE to ERASMUS ii 777
The *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* is popular everywhere. Is glad that Peter [Ægidius] likes his *Nusquama* [Utopia] Wishes to hear if Tunstal approves of it, and other judges
- 1516 Nov 12 Louvain GERARDUS NOVIOMAGUS (of Nimeguen) to ERASMUS ii 793
His friend Theodoricus [Martin] will undertake to print the *Utopia* Paludanus will show him a cut of the island by a great painter, if Erasmus desire any alterations
- 1516 Nov. 18 Brussels ERASMUS to PETER ÆGIDIUS ii 796
Utopia is in the printer's hands.
- 1516 [?] Mechlin JEROME BUSLIDANUS to MORE ii 814
In praise of his *Utopia*
- 1516 [?] London MORE to PETRUS ÆGIDIUS ii 896
Letter Translated by Robinson at pp 21-26
- [1516 Dec ?] The Editio princeps appears *Libellus vere aureus nec minus salutaris quam festinus, de optimo rerū statu deque noua Insula Vtopia* . It has no pagination (1) First comes the picture-chart of the island above referred to, (2) Then the Utopian alphabet, in which A to L are represented by circles or curves, M by a triangle, and N to Y by rectangles or portions thereof dashes being used in connection with these for further diversity (3) Then we have Anemolius' Utopian Hekastuchon, see p 167, (4) Then Ægidius' letter to Busleyden, see pp 163-166, (5) Then another letter to him, from John Paludanus, who also contributes a poem, neither of which were included in Robinson's translation, (6) Then a poem by Gerardus Noviomagus, *De Utopia*, see p 167, (7) Then the poem of Cornelius Graphæus, *Ad lectorem*, see p 167, (8) Then Busleyden's letter to Thomas More, (not included in Robinson's translation), (9) Then More's letter to Ægidius, see pp 21-26, (10) Then the Text, in two books]
- 1517 [?] MORE to TUNSTALL ii 1541
His last letters were the most delightful he ever received from him, as they spoke so highly of his Republica (*Utopia*) Trusts they were as sincere as candid Was afraid, among his many avocations, he would not have time for such trifles, nor could he have done so except out of partiality Is glad he is pleased with the work, and not less for his candid advice
1517. Jan. 13. London. MORE to ERASMUS ii 891
Bids Erasmus will thank Paludanus and Giles [Ægidius].
- 1517 Feb 24 Antwerp ERASMUS to WILLIAM COPE ii 953
Begs him to send for More's *Utopia*, if he has not yet read it, and wishes to see the true source of all political evils [This proves the publication of the first edition before this date]

- 1517 Mar 1 Antwerp ERASMUS to MORE ii 958
Sends one letter to Marlianus, who imagined that the first book of *Utopia* was written by Erasmus. As soon as More has corrected the *Utopia*, Erasmus will send the MS to Basle or Paris
- 1517 Mar 8 Antwerp ERASMUS to MORE ii 963
Send the *Utopia* at your earliest opportunity A burgo-master at Antwerp is so pleased with it that he knows it all by heart
- 1517.² [?] London MORE to ERASMUS ii 913
Sent his *Utopia* some time since, and is delighted to hear it will come out in a magnificent form
- 1517 July 31 Paris GULIELMUS BUDÆUS to THOMAS LUPSET ii 1124
Thanks him for a copy of More's *Utopia* Long commendation of the *Utopia* [Printed in both editions of 1518]
- 1517 Aug 25 Louvain ERASMUS to JOHN FROBENIUS ii 1147
Sends *Utopia* for Frobenius to print.
1517. [?] ERASMUS to MORE ii 1090
Has sent More's *Epigrams* and *Utopia* to Basle.
- 1517 Aug 28 Antwerp FRANCIS CHIEREGATO to ERASMUS ii. 1151
On his leaving England for Rome, to avoid the sweating sickness, touched at Antwerp and heard that Erasmus was staying with Petrus Ægdius, secretary to the municipality of Antwerp On calling heard that Erasmus had started the day before for Louvain
- 1517 [?] London MORE to ERASMUS ii 1155
Is in the clouds with the dream of the government to be offered him by his Utopians, fancies himself a grand potentate, with a crown and a Franciscan cloak (*paludamentum*), followed by a grand procession of the Amauri. Should it please Heaven to exalt him to this high dignity, where he will be too high to think of common acquaintances, he will still keep a corner in his heart for Erasmus and Tunstall, and should they pay him a visit to Utopia, he will make all his subjects honor them as is befitting the friends of majesty. The morn has dawned and dispelled his dream, and stripped off his royalty, plunging him down into his old mill-round at the Court
- 1517 Aug 31 Louvain ERASMUS to TUNSTAL ii 1154
Has taken up his abode at Louvain, and is on good terms with the theologians Is staying with Paludanus, his ancient friend, but wants to find more room for his books
- 1517 Sept 3. MORE to ERASMUS ii 1157
Sends his *Utopia* (*Nusquamam nostram nusquam bene scriptam ad te nullo*)
- 1517 Sept 15 Paris. THOMAS LUPSET to ERASMUS ii 1162.
Intends getting a new edition of More's *Utopia* printed
1517. Dec 15. London MORE to ERASMUS ii 1201
Expects his *Utopia*
1518. Mar 5 Louvain ERASMUS to MORE. ii 1238
The printers at Basle excuse their delay in the *Utopia* by reason of the preface added by Budæus [This is the third edition] Has seen a French edition of the *Utopia* [Lupset's edition, printed by Gilles de Gourmont at Paris, must therefore rank as the second in point of time, but is only a reprint of the Louvain edition of 1516]
1518. Nov [Date of the Basle edition, third in point of time, second as regards authorship It omits Paludanus' letter and poem of the first edition, and has in addition the above mentioned letters from Erasmus to Frobenius, and from Budé to Lupset. This edition therefore embodying also More's corrections of the previous year, is at once the most complete and most correct published in his lifetime]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Utopia.

Editions not seen

For the earliest Latin editions, see *pp* 6, 7. Space does not permit detailing other Latin, or the French, German, Italian, and Spanish editions that have appeared

ENGLISH EDITIONS

(a) Issues in the Author's lifetime.

None.

(b) Issues since the Author's death.

RALPH ROBINSON'S TRANSLATION.

I *As a separate publication*

- 1 1551 London 1 vol 8vo *Earliest translation: see title at p 11*
 2 1556 London 1 vol 8vo *Second and revised translation. see title at p 17*
 3 1597 London A most pleasant fruitfull and wittie worke, of the best
 1 vol 4to state of a publike weale, and of the new Yle called Utopia
 And now this thurd edition, newly corrected and amended
 4 1624 London Sir T More's Utopia Now after many Impressions,
 1 vol 4to newly corrected and purged of all errors hapned in the former
 edition Printed by BER ALSOP who dedicates it to *Cresacre*
More, of More place in North Mimes in the countie of Hert-
ford, Esquire, next in Bloud to Sir Thomas More,
 5 1639 London The Commonwealth of Utopia . . . Another edition of
 1 vol 12mo No 4
 14 1808 London Utopia . . . With copious Notes, and a Biographical and
 1 vol 4to Literary Introduction By the Rev T F DIDDM, F.S.A.
 A reprint of the text of 1639, No 5, which is itself a reprint
 of Alsop's of 1624 collated with Edition of 1551, No 1
 18 1 Mar 1869 London 1 vol 8vo *English Reprints see title at p 1*

BP GILBERT BURNET'S TRANSLATION.

I *As a separate publication*

- 6 1684 London Utopia translated into English
 1 vol 8vo
 7 1737 Dublin Utopia To this edition is added, a short account of
 1 vol 12mo Sir Thomas More's Life and his Trial
 8 1743 Glasgow Utopia or the Happy Republic, a Philosophical Romance,
 1 vol 8vo in two books
 9 1751 Oxford Utopia Revis'd, corrected and greatly improv'd
 1 vol 12mo by THOMAS WILLIAMSON
 10 1753 Oxford Utopia The whole revis'd, corrected, and improv'd
 1 vol 12mo by A GENTLEMAN OF OXFORD A reprint of No 9
 12 1780 London Utopia or the Best state of a Commonwealth, *Didm.*
 1 vol 8vo *clxxxix of No 14*
 16 1789 London Utopia or the Happy Republic, *London Catalogue.*
 1 vol 12mo
 17 1850 London *The Phoenix Library*, selected by JOHN MINTER MOR-
 1 vol 12mo GAN Utopia, or The Happy Republic
 II *With other works*
 11 1758 London Memoirs of the Life of Sir Thomas More . . . To which
 1 vol 8vo is added, his History of Utopia, with notes historical
 and explanatory by F WARNER, LL D
 15 1838 London *The Masterpieces of Prose Literature* Vol 11, Utopia .
 1 vol 8vo or the Happy Republic, with Lord Bacon's *New Atlantis*.
 With a preliminary discourse by J A. ST JOHN, Esqre.

ARTHUR CAYLEY'S (the younger) TRANSLATION

II *With other works*

- 13 1808 London Memoirs of Sir Thomas More, with a new translation of
 4 vols 4to his *Utopia*, his History of King Richard III, and his
 Latin Poems *Utopia occupies ii 1-145*

The
LIFE and TRAVELS
of
RAPHAEL HYTHLODAYE.

Probable or approximate dates

Based chiefly—besides the present work—on *Amerigo Vespucci, Son caractère, ses écrits (même les moins authentiques), sa vie et ses navigations*; by F A DE VARNHAGEN, Brazilian Minister to Peru, Chile, and Ecuador, &c. Lima, 1865, fol. See also *The Life and Voyages of Americus Vesputius*, by C E LESTER and A FOSTER New York, 1846, 8vo

The same Raphael Hythlodaye (for this is his name) is very well lerned in the Latine tongue. but profounde and excellent in the Greke tongue . . . His patrimonye that he was borne vnto, he left to his brethern (for he is a Portugal borne) *p* 29 As concerning my frendes and kynsfolke (quod he) I passe not greatly for them. For I thinke I haue sufficiently doone my parte towards them already *p* 33

As concernyng this matter, I allow the ordinaunce of no nation so wel as yat which I sawe, whiles I traualled abroad aboute the worlde, vsed in Persia amonge the people that commonly be called the Polyerites [Polyentæ], *p* 47.

1494 April The King of Spain throws open the trade and navigation of the Indies to all ships taking their departure from Cadiz

*1495 'There [i.e. in England] I taried for the space of iii or v. monethes together, not longe after the insurrection, yat the Westernne Englishe men made agaynst their King' *p* 36

He stays with Cardinal Morton At *pp* 37-54, he gives an account of a table-talk, one day while he was in his house

1497 May 10 The Florentine Amerigo Vespucci [b 9 Mar 1451-d 22 Feb 1512], in the employ of the King of Spain, leaves Cadiz with 4 ships Thus, his first voyage, was chiefly about the Gulf of Mexico He returns to Cadiz 15 October 1498

1498 Oct 15 Vespucci—again in the service of Spain—leaves Cadiz. This voyage, in part with Alonzo de Hojeda and Juan de la Cosa, brought him to the mainland of South America.

Hythlodaye, 'for the desire that he had to see, and knowe the farre Countreyes of the worlde, he ioyned himselfe in company with Amerike Vespuce, and in the iii last voyages of those in he continued styl in his company' *p* 29

1501 May 14 Vespucci—entering the service of the king of Portugal—leaves Lisbon on his *third* voyage, in which he continues his discoveries along the coast of Brazil He returns to Lisbon

1502 Sept 7 Vespucci—still in the service of the king of Portugal—commands a ship in a squadron of 6 ships, under Gonçalo de Coelho

Hythlodaye says, "When I was determynd to entre into my iiii. voyage, I caste into the shippe in the steade of marchandise a prety fardel of bookes, bycause I intended to come againe rather neuer, than shortly"—See list at *p* 119

*503 May [June?] 10 'Also my companion, Tricius Apinatus carried with him phisick bookes.' *p* 119

The squadron crossed the line, and on 10th Aug saw distinctly on the horizon an island—which can be no other than Fernando de Noronha The flag-ship, of 300 tons was wrecked on a rock near the island, but happily the crew were

- saved Vespucci, then 4 leagues from the island, was ordered to find in it a harbour. He missed the island and lost sight of the other ships. After 8 days however, he saw a sail on the horizon, which on joining proved to be one of them. Both vessels then returned to the island, and found the other three ships gone, anchored, took in wood, &c., and then set out for the appointed rendezvous in case of separation, Bahia, discovered in the previous voyage. There they arrived in 18 days, and waited for 2 months and 14 days. At length tired of the delay, the two commanders determined to explore the coast ahead. Sailing southward, they at length stopped at a port, which, (according to Varnhagen), can be no other than Cape Frio. Here they found a quantity of dye-wood (brazil), with which they loaded their ships, during a stay of 5 months.
- 1503 Sept, Oct Before returning, they left a little factory of 24 armed men in a fortress armed with 12 guns. Then setting out, in 77 days reached Lisbon on 18 June 1503, bring the earliest tidings of either themselves or their missing consorts, which on 4 Sept. 1504, Vespucci believed to be all lost [*Condensed from Varnhagen, pp. 114, 115*].
- 1504 April 3 Hythlodaye 'gotte the licence of mayster Americke (though it was sore agayns this wyll) to be one of the xxiii whiche in the ende of the laste voyage were left in the cuntrye of Gulike.' p 30
- 1504 June 18 After the departynge of Mayster Vespuce, when he had traualled through and aboute many Countreyes with v of his companions Gulikanes [i.e. of the above 24 one of these five was the above named Iricius Apinatus, p 119] p 30
- 1505-1510 Yf you had bene with me in Utopia, and had presentely sene there fashions and lawes, as I dyd, whyche I lued there v. yeares, and moore, and wolde neuer haue comen thence, but onlye to make that newe lande knowen here p 69
- Amaurote whereia I lued fve whole yeares together. p 77
- The ACHORIENS [Achoru], whiche be situate ouer agaynst the Iland of Utopia on the south easte side p 57
- The MACARIENS [Macarensu] whiche be not farre distaunt from Utopia p 62
- 'The ANEMOLIANS [Anemoli] dwell farre thence, and had verie litle a[c]quaintance with' the Utopians p 101
- The battell whiche the Utopians fought for the NEPHELOGETES [Nephelegetæ] against the ALAOPOLITANES [Alaopolitæ] a little before oure time. The Nephelegetes before the warre, when the Alaopolitans flourished in wealth, wer nothing to be compared with them pp 132, 133
- The ZAPOLETES [Zapolete] This people is 500 myles from Utopia eastwarde p 136
- Hythlodaye marnes the aunt of Anemolus, the Poet Laureate of Utopia p 167
- But because among vs foure (for no mo of vs was left aliue, two of our companye beyng dead) there was no priest, at my departure p 144
- At the last by merueylous chaunce he [Hythlodaye] arrived in Trapobane [Ceylon] from whence he went to Callicut [Calicut], where he chaunced to fynde certayne of hys Countreyes shippes, wherein he retourned agayne to his Countreye, no thinge lesse then looked for p 30
- 1515 *Nov Sir T More meeting Hythlodaye in the doorway of Antwerp Cathedral, describes him as 'A man well stricken in age, with a blacke sonneburned face, a longe bearde, and a cloke cast homly about his shoulders, whome, by his fauoure and apparell furthwith I iudged to bee a mariner' p 29
1516. Nov 1 'Very vncertain newes' (!) subsequently of Hythlodaye p. 165

A fruteful /

and pleasaunt worke of the
beste state of a publyque weale, and
of the newe yle called Utopia: written
in Latine by Syr Thomas More
knyght, and translated into Englyshe
by Raphe Robynson Citiyein and
Goldsmythe of London, at the
procurement, and earnest re-
quest of George Tadlowe
Citeyein and Haberdassher
of the same Citie.

(.:.)

¶ Imprinted at London

by Abraham Alele, dwelling in Pauls
churchyard at the sygne of
the Lambe. Anno,

1551.



To the right

honourable, and his verie singular good maister, maister William Cecylle esquiere, one of the twoo principall secretaries to the kyng his moste excellente maiestie, Raphe Robynson wissheth continuance of health, with dayly increase of vertue, and honoure.



Pon a tyme, when tidynge came too the cite of Corinthe that kyng Philippe father to Alexander furnamed ye Great, was comming thetherwarde with an armie royall to lay siege to the cite. The Corinthians being forth with fflyken with greate feare, beganne busilie, and earnestly to looke aboute them, and to falle to worke of all handes. Some to skowre and trymme vp harneis, some to carry stones, some to amende and buylde hygher the walles, some to rampiere and fortyfie the bulwarkes, and fortresses, some one thyng, and some an other for the defendinge, and strengthenyng of the cite. The whiche busie labour, and toyle of theires when Diogenes the phylosopher sawe, hauing no profitable busines whereupon to sette himself on worke (neither any man required his labour, and helpe as expedient for the commen wealth in that necessitie) immediatly girded about him his phylosophicall cloke, and began to rolle, and tumble vp and downe hether and thether vpon the hille syde, that lieth adioynnge to the cite, his great barrel or tunne, wherein he dwelled: for other dwellynge place wold

he haue none. This feing one of his frendes, and not a litell mufynge therat, came to hym: And I praye the Diogenes (quod he) whie doeft thou thus, or what meanest thou hereby? Forsothe I am tumblyng my tubbe to (quod he) bycause it where no reason yat I only should be ydell, where so many be working. In semblable maner, right honorable sir, though I be, as I am in dede, of muche lesse habilitie then Diogenes was to do any thinge, that shall or may be for the auauancement and commoditie of the publike wealth of my natue countrey: yet I feing euery sort, and kynde of people in their vocation, and degree busiie occupied about the common wealthes affaires: and especially learned men dayly putting forth in writing newe inuentions, and deuises to the furtheraunce of the same: thought it my bounden duetie to God, and to my countrey so to tumble my tubbe, I meane so to occupie, and exercise myself in bestowing such spare houres, as I beinge at ye becke, and commaundement of others, cold conueniently winne to me self: yat though no commoditie of that my labour, and trauaile to the publike weale should arise, yet it myght by this appeare, yat myne endeuoire, and good wille hereunto was not lacking To the accomplishment therefore, and fullyllyng of this my mynde, and purpose: I toke vpon me to tourne, and translate oute of Latine into oure Englishe tonge the frutefull, and profitable boke, which sir Thomas more knight compiled, and made of the new yle Utopia, conteyning and setting forth ye best state, and fourme of a publike weale: A worke (as it appeareth) written almost fourtie yeres ago by the said sir Thomas More ye authour therof The whiche man, forasmuche as he was a man of late tyme, yea almost of thies our dayes: and for ye excellent qualities, wherewith the great goodnes of God had plentyfully endowed him, and for ye high place, and rowme, wherunto his prince had most graciously called him, notably wel knownen, not only among vs his countremen, but also in forrein countreis and nations therefore I

haue not much to speake of him. This only I saye : yat it is much to be lamented of al, and not only of vs English men, yat a man of so incomparable witte, of so profounde knowlege, of so absolute learning, and of so fine eloquence was yet neuerthelesse so much blinded, rather with obstinacie, then with ignoraunce yat he could not or rather would not see the shining light of godes holy truthe in certein principal pointes of Christian religion. but did rather cheuse to perseuer, and continue in his wilfull and stubbourne obstinacie euen to ye very death. This I say is a thing much to be lamented. But letting this matter passe, I retourne again to Utopia. Which (as I said befor) is a work not only for ye matter yat it containeth fruteful and profitable, but also for ye writers eloquent latine stiele pleasaunt and delectable. Which he yat readeth in latine, as ye authour himself wrote it, perfectly vnderstanding ye same : doubtles he shal take great pleasure, and delite both in ye sweete eloquence of ye writer, and also in ye wittie inuencion, and fine conueiaunce, or disposition of ye matter but most of all in the good, and holsome lessons, which be there in great plenty, and aboundaunce. But nowe I feare greatly yat in this my simple translation through my rudenes and ignoraunce in our english tonge all the grace and pleasure of ye eloquence, wherwith ye matter in latine is finely set forth may seme to be vtterly excluded, and lost : and therefore the frutefulness of the matter it selfe muche peraduenture diminished, and appayred. For who knoweth not whiche knoweth any thyng, that an eloquent stiele setteth forth and highly commendeth a meane matter? Where as on the other side rude, and vnlearned speche defaceth and disgraceth a very good matter. According as I harde ones a wise man say. A good tale euell tolde were better vntold, and an euell tale well tolde nedeth none other sollicitour. This thing I well pondering and wayinge with me self, and also knowing, and knowledging the barbarous rudenes of my translation was fully determined neuer

to haue put it forth in printe, had it not bene for certein frendes of myne, and especially one, whom aboue al other I regarded, a man of sage, and discret witte and in wor[l]dly matters by long vie well experienced, whoes name is George Tadlowe: an honest citizem of London, and in the same citie well accepted, and of good reputation. at whoes request, and instaunce I first toke vpon my weake, and feble sholders ye heauie, and weightie bourdein of this great enterprice. This man with diuers other, but this man chiefly (for he was able to do more with me, then many other) after that I had ones rudely brought ye worke to an ende, ceassed not by al meanes possible continually to assault me, vntil he had at ye laste, what by ye force of his pitthie argumentes and strong reasons, and what by hys authority so perswaded me, that he caused me to agree and consente to the impryntynge herof. He therfore, as the chiefe perswadour, must take vpon him the daunger, whyche vpon this bolde, and rashe enterpryse shall ensue. I, as I suppose, am herin clerely acquytte, and discharged of all blame. Yet, honorable Syr for the better auoyding of enuyous and malycyous tongues, I (knowynge you to be a man, not onlye profoundly learned, and well affected towardses all suche, as eyther canne, or wyll take paynes in ye well bestowing of that poore talente, whyche GOD hath endued them wyth: but also for youre godlye dysposytyon, and vertuous qualytyes not vnworthelye nowe placed in aucthorytye, and called to honoure) am the bolder humblye to offer and dedycate vnto youre good maystershyppye thys my fymple woorke. Partly that vnder the fausse conducte of your protection it may the better be defended from the obloquie of them, which can say well by nothing, that pleaseth not their fond, and corrupt iudgementes, though it be els both frutesfull and godly. and partlye that by the meanes of this homely present I may the better renewe, and reuiue (which of late, as you know, I haue already begonne to do) yat old acquayntaunce, that was betwene you and me in

the time of our childhode, being then scolefellowes together. Not doubting that you for your natie goodnes, and gentelnes will accept in good parte this poore gift, as an argument, or token, that mine old good wil, and hartye affection towards you is not by reason of long tract of time, and separation of our bodies any thinge at all quayled and diminished, but rather (I affuer you) much augmented, and increased. This verely is ye chieffe cause, yat hath incouraged me to be so bolde with youre maisterhippe. Els truelye this my poore present is of such simple and meane sort, that it is neyther able to recompense the least portion of your great gentelnes to me, of my part vnderferued, both in the time of our olde acquayntance, and also now lately again bountifully shewed. neither yet fitte, and mete for the very basenes of it to be offered to one so worthy, as you be. But almighty god (who therfore euer be thanked) hath auauanced you to such fortune, and dignity, that you be of hability to accept thankfully aswell a mans good will as his gift. The same god graunte you and all yours long, and ioyfully to contynue in all godlynes
and prosperytye.

(.·.)

A frutefull

pleasaunt, and wittie worl
of the beste state of a publig
weale, and of the newe yle, called U
pia: written in Latine, by the right wi
thie and famous Syr Thomas Mi
knyght, and translated into Englishe
Raphe Robynson, sometime fellow
of Corpus Christi College in Ox=
ford, and nowe by him at this se=
conde edition newlie peru=
sed and corrected, and
also with diuers no=
tes in the margent
augmented.

Imprinted at London, by
Abraham Uele, dwellinge in
Pauls churchyarde, at the signe
of the Lambe.

¶ The translator to the gentle reader.



Hou shalte vnderstande gentle reader that thoughe this worke of Utopia in English, come nowe the seconde tyme furth in Print, yet was it neuer my minde nor intentione, that it shoulde euer haue bene Imprinted at all, as who for no such purpose toke vpon me at the firste the translation thereof: but did it onelye at the request of a frende, for his owne priuate vse, vpon hope that he wolde haue kept it secrete to hym self alone. Whom though I knew to be a man in dede, both very wittie, and also skilful, yet was I certen, that in the knowledge of the Latin tonge, he was not so well sene, as to be hable to iudge of the finenes or coursenes of my translation. Wherefore I wente the more sleightlye through with it, propoundynge to my selfe therein, rather to please my sayde friends iudgemente, then myne owne. To the meaneffe of whose learninge I thoughte it my part to submit, and attemper my stile Lightlie therefore I ouer ran the whole worke, and in short tyme, with more hast, then good spede, I broughte it to an ende. But as the latin prouerbe sayeth. The hastye bitche bringeth furth blind whelpes For when this my worke was finished, the rudenes therot shewed it to be done in poste haste. How be it, rude and base though it were, yet fortune so ruled the matter that to Imprintinge it came, and that partly against my wyll. Howebeit not beinge hable in this behalfe to resist the pitthie persuations of my frendes, and perceauing therefore none other remedy, but that furth it shoulde: I comforted myselfe for the tyme, only with this notable saying of Terence.

Ita vita est hominum, quasi quum ludas tesseris.

Si illud, quod est maxumè opus iactu non cadit:

Illud, quod cecidit forte, id arte vt corrigas.

In which verses the Poete likeneth or compareth the life of man to a diceplayng or a game at the tables: Meanyng therein, if that chaunce rise not, whiche is

moſt for the plaiers aduauntage, that then the chaunce, which fortune hathe ſent, ought ſo connyngly to be played, as may be to the plaier leaſt dammage. By the which worthy ſimilitude ſurely the wittie Poete geueth vs to vnderſtande, that though in any of our actes and doyngeſ, (as it ofte chaunceth) we happen to faile and miſſe of our good pretended purpoſe, ſo that the ſucceſſe and our intente proue thingeſ farre odde: yet ſo we ought with wittie circumſpection to handle the matter, that no euyll or incommoditie, as farre furth as may be, and as in vs lieth, do therof enſue. According to the whiche counſell, though I am in dede in compariſon of an experte gameſter and a conning player, but a very bungler, yet haue I in this by chaunce, that on my ſide vnwares hath fallen, ſo (I ſuppoſe) behaued myſelf, that, as doubtles it might haue bene of me much more connyngly handled, had I forethought ſo much, or doubted any ſuch ſequelle at the beginninge of my plaie: ſo I am ſuer it had bene much worſe then it is, if I had not in the ende looked ſomwhat earneſtlye to my game. For though this worke came not from me ſo fine, ſo perfecte, and ſo exact yat at firſt, as ſurely for my ſmale lerning, it ſhould haue done, yf I had then ment the publiſhing therof in print: yet I truſt I haue now in this ſeconde edition taken about it ſuch paines, yat very fewe great faultes and notable errorrs are in it to be founde. Now therefore, moſt gentle reader, the meaneſſe of this ſimple tranſlation, and the faultes that be therein (as I feare muche there be ſome) I doubt not, but thou wilt, in iuſt conſideration of the premiſſes, gentlye and fauourablye winke at them. So do-
 ynge thou ſhalt miniſter vnto
 me good cauſe to thinke
 my labour and paynes
 herein not altogethers beſtowed
 in vaine.

VALE

**¶ Thomas More to Pe-
ter Giles, sendeth
greeting.**



Am almoste ashamed, righte welbeloued
Peter Giles, to send vnto you this boke
of ye Utopian commen wealth, welniegh
after a yeres space, whiche I am sure you
looked for within a moneth and a halfe.

And no marueil. For you knewe well ynough, that
I was alreadye disbourdened of all the laboure and
stудye belongynge to the inuention in this worke, and
that I had no nede at al to trouble my braines about
the disposition, or conueiaunce of the matter: and
therfore had herein nothing els to do, but only to re-
hearse those thinges, whiche you and I togethers hard
maister Raphael tel and declare. Wherefore there
was no cause why I shuld study to setforth the matter
with eloquence: for asmuch as his talke could not be
fine and eloquent, beyng firste not studied for, but
fuddein and vnpremeditate, and then, as you know, of
a man better sene in the Greke language, then in the
latin tonge. And my writynge, the niegher
it should approche to his homely plaine, Trueth loueth
simplicitie and
playnes
and simple speche, somuche the niegher
shuld it go to the trueth: which is the onelye marke,
wherunto I do and ought to directe all my trauail and
study herin. I graunte and confesse, frende Peter,
myselfe discharged of somuche laboure, hauinge all these
thinges ready done to my hande, that almooste there
was nothinge left for me to do. Elles either the inuen-
tion, or the disposition of this matter myghte haue re-
quired of a witte neither base, neither at all vnlearned,
bohn some time and leasure, and also some studie.
But if it were requisite, and necessarie, that the matter

shoulde also haue bene wrytten eloquentlie, and not alone truelye: of a fueretie that thyng coulede I haue perfourmed by no tyme nor studye. But now seynge all these cares, stayes, and lettes were taken awaye, wherin elles so muche laboure and studye shoulde haue bene employed, and that there remayned no other thyng for me to do, but onelye to write playneslie the matter as I hard it spoken: that in deede was a thyng lighte and easye to be done. Howbeit to the dispatchynge of thys so lytle busynesse, my other cares and troubles did leaue almost lesse, then no leasure.

The authors
bussines and
lettres.

Whiles I doo dayelie bestowe my time aboute lawe matters. some to pleade, some to heare, some as an arbitratoure with myne awarde to determine, some as an vmpier or a Iudge, with my sentence finallye to discusse. Whiles I go one waye to see and visite my frende: an other waye about myne owne priuat affaires. Whiles I spende almost all the daye abrode emonges other, and the residue at home among mine owne; I leaue to my self, I meane to my booke no time. For when I am come home, I muste commen with my wife, chatte with my children, and talke wyth my seruantes. All the whiche thynges I reckon and accompte amonge busynesse, forasmuche as they muste of necessitie be done. and done muste they nedes be, onelesse a man wyll be straunger in his owne house. And in any wyse a man muste so fashyon and order hys conditions, and so appoint and dispose him selfe, that he be merie, iocunde, and pleasaunt amonge them, whom eyther nature hath provided, or chaunce hath made, or he hym selfe hath chosen to be the felowes, and companyons of hys life: so that with to muche gentle behauioure and familiaritie, he do not marre them, and by to muche sufferaunce of his seruantes, makethem his maysters. Emonge these thynges now rehearsed, stealeth awaye the daye, the moneth, the yeare. When do I write then? And all this while haue I spoken no worde of slepe, neyther yet of meate, which emong a great number doth wast no lesse tyme,

then doeth slepe, wherein almoste halfe the life tyme
of man crepeth awaye. I therefore downne
and get onely that tyme, whiche I steale from Meate and slepe
great wasters
of time.
slepe and meate. Whiche tyme because
it is very litle, and yet somewhat it is, therfore haue I
ones at the laste, thoughe it be longe first, finished
Utopia; and haue sent it to you, frende Peter, to reade
and peruse: to the intente that yf anye thyng haue
escaped me, you might put me in remembraunce of it.
For thoughe in this behalfe I do not greatlye mistruste
my selfe (whiche woulde God I were somewhat in wit
and learninge, as I am not all of the worste and dullest
memorye) yet haue I not so great truste and confidence
in it, that I thinke nothinge coulde fall out of my
mynde. For Iohn Clement my boye, who Iohn Clement
as you know was there presente with vs,
whome I sufferto be awaye frome no talke, wherein maye
be any profyte or goodnes (for oute of this yonge bladed
and new shotte vp corne, whiche hathe alreadye begon
to spring vp both in Latin and Greke learnyng, I loke
for plentifull increase at length of goodly rype grayne)
he I saye hathe broughte me into a greate doubt.
For wheras Hythlodaye (onelesse my memorye sayle
me) sayde that the bridge of Amaurote, whyche goethe
ouer the riuier of Anyder is fyue hundreth paseis, that
is to saye, halfe a myle in lengthe. my Iohn sayeth that
two hundred of those paseis muste be plucked away,
for that the ryuer conteyneth there not aboute three
hundreth paseis in breadthe, I praye you hartelye call
the matter to youre remembraunce. For yf you agree
wyth hym, I also wyll saye as you saye, and confesse
myselfe deceaued. But if you cannot remember the
thing, then surelye I wyll write as I haue done, and as
myne owne remembraunce serueth me. For as I wyll
take good hede, that there be in my booke nothing
falshe, so yf there be anye thyng doubt-
full, I wyll rather tell a lye, then make a A diuersite
betwene ma-
king a lye, and
telling a lie
lie. bycause I had rather be good, then
wile. Howebeit thys matter maye easelye be remedied.

yf you wyll take the paynes to aske the question of Raphael him selfe by woorde of mouthe, if he be nowe with you, or elles by youre letters. Whiche you muste nedes do for an other doubt also, that hath chaunced, through whose faulte I cannot tel. whether through

In what parte
of the worlde
Utopia stand-
eth it is vn-
known

mine, or yours, or Raphaels For neyther we remembred to enquire of him, nor he to tel vs in what part of the newe world Utopia is situate The whiche thinge, I

had rather haue spent no small somme of money, then that it should thus haue escaped vs. aswell for that I am ashamed to be ignoraunt in what sea that ylande standeth, wherof I write so long a treatise, as also because there be with vs certen men, and especiallie

It is thoughte
of some that
here is vnfa-
redly ment the
late famous vi-
care of Croy-
don in Surrey

one vertuous and godly man, and a professour of diuinitie, who is excedyng desierous to go vnto Utopia: not for a vayne and curious desyre to see newes, but to the intente he maye further and increase oure

religion, whiche is there alreadye luckelye begonne And that he maye the better accomplyshe and perfourme this hys good intente, he is mynded to procure that he maye be sente thether by the hieghe Byshoppe: yea, and that he himselfe may be made Bishoppe of Utopia, beyng nothyng scrupulous herein, that he muste obteyne this Byshopricke with suete. For he

counteth that a godly suete, which procedeth not of the desyre of honoure or lucre, but onelie of a godlie zeale. Wherefore I moste earnestly desyre you, frende Peter, to talke with Hythlodaye, yf you can, face to face, or els to wryte youre letters to hym, and so to woorke in thys matter, that in this my booke there maye neyther anye thinge be founde, whyche is vntrue, neyther anye thinge be lacking, whiche is true. And I thynke verelye it shalbe well done, that you shewe vnto him the booke it selfe For yf I haue myssed or sayled in anye poynte, or if anye faulte haue escaped me, no man can so well correcte and amende it, as he can: and yet that can he not do,

oneles he peruse, and reade ouer my booke written. Moreouer by this meanes shall you perceauē, whether he be well wyllinge and content, that I shoulde vnder-take to put this woorke in wrytyng. For if he be mynded to publyshe, and put forth his owne laboures, and trauayles himselfe, perchaunce he woulde be lothe, and so woulde I also, that in publishynge the Utopiane weale publyque, I shoulde preuent him, and take frome him the flower and grace of the noueltie of this his historie. Howbeit, to saye the verye trueth, I am not yet fullye determined with my selfe, whether I will put furth my booke or no. For the natures of men be so diuers, the phantasies of some so waywarde, their myndes so vnkynde, their iudgementes so corrupte, that they which leade a mene and

The vnkynde
iudgementes of
men

a iocounde lyfe, folowynge theyr owne sensuall pleasures and carnall lustes, maye seme to be in a muche better state or case, then they that vexe and vnquiete themselves with cares and studie for the puttinge forthe and publishynge of some thyng, that maye be either profit or pleasure to others: whiche others neuertheless will disdainfully, scornefully, and vnkindly accepte the same. The moost part of al be vnlearned. And a greate number hathe learning in contempte. The rude and barbarous alloweth nothing, but that which is verie barbarous in dede. If it be one that hath a little smacke of learnynge, he reiecteth as homely geare and commen ware, whatsoever is not stuffed full of olde moughteaten termes, and that be worne out of vse. Some there be that haue pleasure onelye in olde rustie antiquities. And some onele in their owne doynge. One is so fowre, so crabbed, and so vnpleasaunte, that he can away with no myrthe nor spote. An other is so narrowe betwene ye sholders, that he can beare no iestes nor tauntes. Some sely poore soules be so asfearde that at euerye snappishe woorde their nose shall be bitten of, that they stande in no lesse drede of euerye quicke and sharpe woorde, than he that is bitten of a madde dogge feareth water. Some be so mutable and

wauerynge. that euey houre they be in a newe mynde, saynge one thinge syttinge, and an other thyng standyng. An other soite fytteth vpon their allebencheis, and there amonge their cuppes they geue iudgement of the wittes of writers, and with greate authoritie they condempne euen as pleaseth them, euerye writer accordyng to his wryttinge, in moste spitefull maner mockyng, lowtyng, and flowtyng them; beyng them selues in the meane season fausse, and as sayeth the prouerbe, oute of all daunger of gonneshotte. For why, they be so smugge and smothe, that they haue not so much as one hearre of an honeste man, wherby one may take holde of them. There be moreouer some so vnkynde and vngentle, that though they take great pleasure, and delectation in the worke, yet for all that, they can not fynde in their hertes to loue the Author therof, nor to asorde him a good woorde: beyng much like vncourteous, vnthankfull, and chourlish gestes. Whiche when

A fitte Similitude

they haue with good and daintie meates well fylled theire bellies, departe home, geuyng no thanks to the feaste maker. Go your wayes now, and make a costlye feaste at youre owne charges for gestes so dayntie mouthed, so diuers in taste, and besides that of so vnkynde and vnthankfull natures. But neuertheles (frende Peter) doo, I pray you, with Hithlo-day, as I willed you before And as for this matter I shall be at my libertie, afterwarde to take newe aduifement. Howbeit, seeyng I haue taken great paynes and labour in wrytyng the matter, if it may stande with his mynde and pleasure, I wyll as touchyng the edition or publishyng of the booke, followe the counsell and aduise of my frendes, and specialle yours. Thus fare you well right her-

tely beloued frende Peter, with

your gentle wife: and loue

me as you haue euer done,

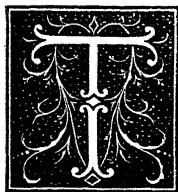
for I loue you better

then euer I

dyd.

The first

Booke of the communication of
Raphael Hythloday, concernyng
the best state of a common welth.



He moſte victorious and triumphant
Kyng of Englande Henrye the
eyght of that name, in al roial
vertues, a Prince moſt pereleſſe,
hadde of late in controuerſie with
Charles, the right highe and mightye
Kyng of Caſtell, weighty matters,
and of great importaunce. For
the debatement and final determination wherof, the
kinges Maieſty ſent me Ambaſſadour into Flaunders,
ioyned in Commiſſion with Cuthbert Tun-
ſtall, a man doutleſſe out of compariſon, Cuthbert
Tunſtall.
and whom the Kynges Maieſtie of late, to the great
reioyſynge of all men, dyd preferre to the office of
Maſter of the Rolles.

But of this mannes prayſes I wyll ſaye nothyng, not
bicauſe I doo feare that ſmall credence ſhalbe geuen
to the teſtimonye that cometh out of a frendes mouthe
but bicauſe his vertue and lernyng be greater, and of
more excellency, then that I am able to praife them.
and alſo in all places ſo famous and ſo perfectly well
knowne, that they neede not, nor oughte not of me to
bee prayſed, vnleſſe I woulde ſeeme to ſhew, and ſet-
furth the brightneſſe of the ſonne with a candell, as the
Prouerbe ſaieth There mette vs at Bruges (for thus
it was before agreed) thei whom their Prince hadde for
that matter appoynted Commiſſioners: excellent men

all. The chiefe and the head of theym was the Maregrau (as they call him) of Bruges, a right honorable man but the wisest and the best spoken of them was George Temfice, prouost of Casselles, a man, not only by learning, but also by nature of singular eloquence, and in the lawes profoundly learned: but in reasonyng, and debatyng of matters what by his naturall witte, and what by daily exercise, surely he hadde few fellowes. After that we had once or twise mette, and vpon certayne poyntes or articles coude not fully and thoroughly agree, they for a certayne space tooke their leaue of vs, and departed to Bruxelle, there to know their Princes pleasure. I in the meane time (for so my busines laye) wente streight thence to Antwerpe. Whiles I was there abidyng, often times amonge other, but whiche to me was more welcome then annye other, dyd visite me one Peter Giles, a Citisen of Antwerpe, a man there in his countrey of honest reputation, and also preferred to high promotions, worthy truly of the hyghest. For it is hard to say, whether the yong man be in learning, or in honestye more excellent. For he is bothe of wonderfull vertuous conditions, and also singularly wel learned, and towards all sortes of people excedyng gentyll: But towards his frendes so kynde herted, so louyng, so faithfull, so trustye, and of so earnest affection, that it were verye harde in any place to fynde a man, that with him in all poyntes of frendshippe maye be compared. No man can be more lowlye or courteous. No man vseth lesse simulation or dissimulation, in no man is more prudent simplicitie. Besides this, he is in his talke and communication so merye and pleasaunte, yea and that withoute harme, that throughe his gentyll intertaynement, and his sweete and delectable communication, in me was greatly abated, and diminished the feruente desyre, that I had to see my natue countrey, my wyfe and my chyl-dren, whom then I dyd muche longe and couete to see, because that at that time I had been more then. *iiii.* Monethes from them. Vpon a certayne daye when I

hadde herde the diuine seruice in our Ladies Church, which is the fayrest, the most gorgeous and curious Church of buyldyng in all the Citie, and also most frequented of people, and the seruice beyng doone, was readye to go home to my lodgyng, I chaunced to espye this forefayde Peter talkyng with a certayne Straunger, a man well stricken in age, with a blacke sonneburned face, a longe bearde, and a cloke cast homly about his shoulders, whome, by his fauoure and apparell furthwith I iudged to bee a mariner. But the sayde Peter seyng me, came vnto me, and saluted me.

And as I was aboute to answere him see you this man, sayth he (and therewith he poynted to the man, that I sawe hym talkyng with before) I was mynded, quod he, to bryng him strayght home to you.

He should haue ben very welcome to me, sayd I, for your sake.

Nay (quod he) for his owne sake, if you knewe him for there is no man thys day luyng, that can tell you of so manye straunge and vnknownen peoples, and Countreyes, as this man can. And I know wel that you be very desirous to heare of suche newes.

Then I coniectured not farre a misse (quod I) for euen at the first syght, I iudged him to be a mariner.

Naye (quod he) there ye were greatly deceyued: he hath failed in deede, not as the mariner Palinure, but as the experte and prudent prince Vlisses: Yea, rather as the auncient and sage Philosopher Plato For this same ^{Raphaell} ~~Hithlodaye~~ Raphaell Hythlodaye (for this is his name) is very well lerned in the Latine tongue. but profounde and excellent in the Greke language. Wherin he euer bestowed more studye then in the Latine, bycause he had geuen himselfe wholly to the study of Philosophy. Wherof he knew that ther is nothyng extante in Latine, that is to anye purpose, sauynge a fewe of Senecaes, and Ciceroes dooynges His patrimonye that he was borne vnto, he lefte to his brethern (for he is a Portugall borne) and for the desire that he had to see, and knowe the farre Countreyes of the worlde, he ioyned

himselfe in company with Amerike Vespuce, and in the iii. last voyages of those. iii. that be nowe in printe, and abroad in euery mannes handes, he continued styll in his company, sauyng that in the last voyage he came not home agayne with him. For he made suche meanes and shift, what by intretaunce, and what by importune sute, that he gotte licence of mayster Americke (though it were fore against his wyll) to be one of the. xxiii. whiche in the ende of the last voyage were left in the countrey of Gulike. He was therefore leste behynde for hys mynde sake, as onethat tooke more thoughte and care for trauailyng, then dyenge hauyng customably in his mouth these saynges. He that hathe no graue, is couered with the skye and, the way to heauen out of all places is of like length and distaunce. Which fantasy of his (if God had not ben his better frende) he had surely bought full deare. But after the departyng of Mayster Vespuce, when he had trauailed thorough and aboute many Countreyes with. v. of his companions Gulikianes, at the last by merueylous chaunce he arriued in Taprobane, from whence he went to Caliquit, where he chaunced to fynde certayne of hys Countreye shippes, wherein he retourned agayne into his Countreye, nothyng leffe then looked for.

All this when Peter hadde told me: I thanked him for his gentle kindnesse, that he had vouchsafed to brynge me to the speache of that man, whose communication: he thoughte shoulde be to me pleasaunte, and acceptable. And therewith I tourned me to Raphaell. And when wee hadde haylfed eche other: and had spoken these commune woordes, that bee customablye spoken at the first meting, and acquaintaunce of straungers, we went thence to my house, and there in my gardaine vpon a bench couered with greene toues, we satte downe talkyng together. There he tolde vs, how that after the departyng of Vespuce, he and his fellows that taried behynde in Gulicke, began by litle and litle, throughe fayre and gentle speache, to wyne the loue and fauoure of the people of that countreye, inso-muche

that within shorte space, they dyd dwell amonges them, not only harmlesse, but also occupiying with them verye familiarly. He tolde vs also, that they were in high reputation and fauour with a certayne great man (whose name and Countreye is nowe quite out of my remembraunce) which of his mere liberalitie dyd beare the costes and charges of him and his fyue companions. And besides that gaue them a trustye guyde to conducte them in their iourney (which by water was in botes, and by land in wagons) and to brynge them to other Princes with verye frendlye commendations. Thus after manye dayes iourneys, he sayd, they founde townes, and Cities, and weale publiques, full of people, gouerned by good and holsome lawes. For vnder the line equinoctiall, and on bothe sydes of the same, as farre as the Sonne doth extende his cource, lyeth (quod he) great, and wyde desertes and wildernesfes, parched, burned, and dried vp with continuall and intollerable heate. All thynges bee hideous, terrible, lothesome, and vnpleasaunt to beholde. All thynges out of fasyon, and comelinesie, inhabited withe wylde Beastes, and Serpentes, or at the leaste wyse, with people, that be no lesse sauage, wylde, and noysome, then the verye beastes them selues be. But a little farther beyonde that, all thynges beginne by litle and lytle to waxe pleasaunte. The ayre softe, temperate and, gentle. The grounde couered with grene grasfe. Lesse wildnesse in the beastes. At the last shall ye come agayne to people, cities and townes wherein is continuall entercoursse and occupiying of merchaundise and chaffare, not only among themselues, and with there Borderers, but also with Merchauntes of farre Countreyes, bothe by lande and water. There I had occasion (sayd he) to go to many countreyes on euery syde. For there was no shippe ready to any voyage or iourney, but I and my fellowes were into it very gladly receyued. Shippes of straungefassions The shippes that thei founde first were made playn, flatte, and broade in the botome, trough wise. The sayles were made of great ruffhes, or of

wickers, and in some places of lether. Afterwarde they founde shippes with ridged kyeles: and sayles of canuasse, yea, and shortly after hauyng all thynges lyke oures. The shipmen also very experte and cunnyng, bothe in the sea, and in the wether. But he saide, that he founde great fauoure and frendship amonge them, for teachyng them the feate and the vse
 The lode stone of the lode stone. Whiche to them before that time was vnknowne. And therefore they were wonte to be verie timerous and fearfull vpon the sea: Nor to venter vpon it, but only in the former time. But now they haue such a confidence in that stone, that they feare not stormy winter: in so dooyng farther from care then daunger, In so much, that it is greatly to be doubted, lest that thyng, throughe their owne foolish hardinesse, shall tourne them to euill and harme, which at the first was supposed shoulde be to them good and commodious.

But what he tolde vs that he sawe in euery countrey where he came, it were very longe to declare. Neither it is my purpose at this time to make reherfall therof. But peraduenture in an other place I wyll speake of it, chiefly such thynges as shall be profitable too bee knowne, as in speciall be those decrees and ordinaunces, that he marked to be well and wittely prouided and enacted amonge such peoples, as do liue together in a ciuile policie, and good ordre. For of such thynges dyd wee busely enquire, and demaunde of him, and he likewise very willingly tolde vs of the same. But as for monsters, bycause they be no newes, of them we were nothyng inquisitiue. For nothyng is more easie to bee founde then bee barkyng Scyllaes, rauenyng Celenes, and Lestrigones deuourers of people, and such lyke great, and incredible monsters. But to fynde Citizens ruled by good and holisome lawes, that is an exceding rare, and harde thyng. But as he marked many fonde, and foolish lawes in those newe founde landes, so he reherfed diuers actes, and constitutions, whereby these oure Cities, Nations, Countreys,

and Kyngdomes may take example to amende their fautes, enormities and errors Wherof in another place (as I sayde) I wyll intreate.

Now at this tyme I am determined to reherse onely that he tolde vs of the maners, customes, lawes, and ordinaunces of the Utopians. But first I wyll repete oure former communication by th[e] occasion, and (as I might saye) the drifte wherof, he was brought into the mention of that weale publike

For, when Raphael had very prudentlye touched diuers thynges, that be amisse, some here, and some there, yea, very many on bothe partes, and againe had spoken of fuche wise lawes, and prudente decrees, as be establisshed, and vsed, bothe here amonge vs, and also there amonge theym, as a man so perfecte, and experte in the lawes, and customes of euery feuerall Countrey, as though into what place soeuer he came guestwife, there he had ledde al his life then Peter muche meruaillynge at the man. Surely maister Raphael (quod he) I wondre greatly, why you gette you not into some kinges courte. For I am sure, there is no Prince liuyng, that wold not be very glad of you, as a man not only hable highly to delite him with your profounde learnyng, and this your knowlege of countreis, and peoples, but also mete to instructe him with examples, and helpe him with counsell. And thus doyng, you shall bryng your selfe in a very good case, and also be of habilitie to helpe all your frendes and kynffolke.

As concernyng my frendes and kynffolke (quod he) I passe not greatly for them. For I thinke I haue sufficiently doone my parte towards them already For these thynges, that other men doo not departe from, vntyl they be olde and fycke, yea, whiche they be then verie lothe to leaue, when they canne no longer keepe, those very same thynges dyd I beyng not only lustye, and in good helth, but also in the floure of my youth, diuide among my frendes and kynffolkes. Which I thynke with this my liberalitie ought to holde them contented, and not to requite nor to ioke that besydes this, I shoulde

for their sakes geue myselfe in bondage vnto Kinges.

Nay, God forbyd that (quod Peter) it is notte mymynde that you shoulde be in bondage to Kynges, but as a retainour to them at your pleasure. Whiche surely I thinke is the nighest waye that you can deuise howe to bestowe your time frutefully, not onlye for the priuate commoditie of your frendes, and for the generall profite of all sortes of people, but also for th[e] aduancement of your self to a much welthier state, and condition, then you be nowe in.

To a welthier condition (quod Raphael) by that meanes, that my mynde standeth cleane agaynst? Now I lyue at libertie after myne owne mynde and pleasure, whiche I thynke verye fewe of these great states, and pieres of realmes can saye Yea, and there be ynow of them that sue for great mens frendeshippes. and therfore thinke it no great hurte, if they haue not me, nor iii. or. iiii. siche other as I am.

Well, I perceiue playnly frende Raphael (quod I) that you be desirous neither of riches, nor of power. And truly I haue in no lesse reuerence and estimation a man of your mynde, then anye of them all that bee so high in power and authoritie. But you shall doo as it becometh you: yea, and accordyng to this wysdome, to this high and free courage of yours, if you can finde in your herte so to appoynt and dispose your selfe, that you mai applye your witte and diligence to the profite of the weale publique, thoughe it be somewhat to youre owne payne and hyndraunce. And this shall you neuer so wel doe, nor wyth so greate proffitte perfourme, as yf you be of some greate princes counsel, and put into his heade (as I doubt not but you wyl) honeste opinions, and vertuous perswasions. For from the prince, as from a perpetual wel sprynge, commethe amonge the people the floode of al that is good or euell. But in you is so perfitte lernynge, that wythoute anye experience, and agayne so greate experience, that wythoute anye lernynge you maye well be any kinges counsellour.

You be twyfe deceaued maister More (quod he) fyrste in me, and agayne in the thinge it selfe. For neither is in

me the habilitie that you force vpon me, and yf it wer neuer so much, yet in disquieting myne owne quietnes I should nothing further the weale publique. For first of all, the moste parte of all princes haue more delyte in warlike matters, and feates of chiuallrie (ye knowlege wherof I neither haue nor desire) than in the good feates of peace. and employe muche more study, how by right or by wrong to enlarge their dominions, than howe wel, and peaceable to rule, and gouerne that they haue alredie. Moreouer, they that be counsellours to kinges, euery one of them eyther is of him selfe so wise in dede, that he nedeth not, or elles he thinketh himself so wise, yat he wil not allowe an other mans counfel, sauing that they do shamefully, and flatteringly geue assent to the fond and folishe sayinges of certeyn great men. Whose fauours, bicause they be in high authoritie with their prince, by assentation and flatterie they labour to obteyne. And verly it is naturally geuen to all men to esteeme their owne inuentions best. So both the Rauens and the Ape thincke their owne yonge ones fairest. Than if a man in such a company, where some disdayne and haue despite at other mens inuentions, and some counte thei owne best, if among suche menne (I say) a man should bringe furth any thinge, that he hath redde done in tymes past, or that he hath sene done in other places there the hearers, fare as though the whole existimation of their wisdom were in ieopardye to be ouerthrowen, and that euer after thei shoulde be counted for verie disorders, vnles they could in other mens inuentions pycke out matter to reprehend, and find fault at.

If all other poore helps fayle : then this is Triptakers
 their extreame refuge. These thinges (say they) pleased our forefathers and auncestours : wolde God we could be so wise as thei were : and as though thei had wittely concluded the matter, and with this answere stopped euery mans mouth, thei sitte downe againe. As who should sai, it were a very daungerous matter, if a man in any pointe should be founde wiser, then his forefathers were. And yet bee we content to suffre the

best and wittiest of their decrees to lye vnexecuted: but if in any thing a better ordre might haue ben taken, then by them was, there we take fast hold, findyng therein many faultes. Many tymes haue I chaunced vpon such proude, leude, ouerthwarte, and wayward iudgements, yea, and once in England:

Partial iudge-
mentes

I prai you Syr (quod I) haue you ben in our countrey?

Yea forsoth (quod he) and there I taried for the space of iii or. v. monethes together, not longe after the insurrection, yat the Westernne English men made agaynst their Kyng, which by their owne miserable and pitiful slaughter was suppressed and ended. In the meane season I was muche bounde and beholdyng to the righte reuerende father, Ihon Morton, Cardinall Morton Archebishop and Cardinal of Canterbury, and at that time also lorde Chauncelloure of Englande: a man Mayster Peter (for Mayster More knoweth already that I wyll saye) not more honorable for his authoritie, then for his prudence and vertue. He was of a meane stature, and though stricken in age, yet bare he his bodye vpright. In his face did shine such an amiable reuerence, as was pleasaunte to beholde, Gentill in communication, yet earnest, and sage. He had great delite manye times with roughe speache to his sewters, to proue, but withoute harme, what prompte witte, and what bolde spirite were in euery man. In the which as in a vertue much agreinge with his nature, so that therewith were not ioyned impudency, he toke greate delectatyon. And the same person, as apte and mete to haue an administratyon in the weale publique, he dyd louingly embrace. In his speche he was fyne, eloquent, and pythye. In the lawe he had profounde knowledge, in witte he was incomparable, and in memory wonderful excellent. These qualities, which in hym were by nature singular, he by learnyng and vse had made perfecte. The Kyng put muche truste in his counsell, the weale publyque also in a maner leaned vnto hym, when I was there. For euen in the chiefe of his youth he was taken from schole into the Courte, and there passed

all his tyme in much trouble and busines, beyng continually tumbled and tossed in the waues of dyuers misfortunes and aduersities. And so by many and greate daungers he lerned the experience of the worlde, whiche so beinge learned can not easely be forgotten. It chaunced on a certayne daye, when I sate at his table, there was also a certayne laye man cunnyng in the lawes of youre Realme. Who, I can not tell wherof takynge occasion, began diligently and earnestly to prayse that straye and rygorous iustice, which at that tyme was there executed vpon fellows, who as he sayde, were for the most parte. xx. hanged together vpon one gallowes. And, seyng so fewe escaped punysshment, he sayde he coulde not chuse, but greatly wonder and maruel, howe and by what euil lucke it shold so come to passe, that theues neuertheles were in euery place so ryffe and so iancke.

Naye Syr quod I (for I durst boldly speake my minde before the Cardinal) maruel nothinge here at for this punysshment of theues passeth the limites of Iustice, and is also very hurtfull to the weale publique. For it is to extreame and cruel a punysshment for thefte, and yet not sufficient to refrayne and withhold men from thefte. For simple thefte is not so great an offense, that it owght to be punished with death. Neither ther is any punysshment so horrible, that it can kepe them from stealyng, which haue no other craft, wherby to get their liuing. Therfore in this poynte, not you onlye, but also the most part of the world, be like euyl scholemaisters, which be readyer to beate, then to teache, their scholers. For great and horrible punysshmentes be appointed for theues. Whereas much rather prouision should haue ben made, that there were some meanes, whereby they myght get their liuyng, so that no man shoulde be dryuen to this extreme necessity. firste to steale, and then to dye. Yes (quod he) this matter is wel ynough provided for already. There be handy craftes, there is husbandrye to gette their liuyng by if they would not willingly be nought

Of lawes not
made accord
ing to equitie

By what means
ther might
be fewer the
ues and robbers

Nay, quod I, you shall not skape so: for first of all, I wyll speake nothyng of them, that come home oute of the warres, maymed and lame, as not longe a go, oute of Blacke heath felde, and a litell before that, out of the warres in Fraunce. fuche, I saye, as put their liues in ieoperdye for the weale publiques or the kynges sake, and by reason of weakenesse and lamenesse be not hable to occupye their olde craftes, and be to aged to lerne new of them I wyll speake nothing, forasmuch as warres haue their ordinarie recourse. But let vs con-

Idlenesse the
mother of
theues

sidre those thinges that chaunce daily before our eyes. First there is a great numbere of gentlemen, which can not be content to

lue idle themselves, lyke dorres, of yat whiche other haue laboured for: their tenautes I meane, whom they polle

Landlordes by
the way check-
ed for Rent-
raisynge

and shauue to the quicke, by reisyng their rentes (for this onlye poynte of frugalitie do they vse, men els through their lauasse and prodigall spendynge, hable to brynge

theymselfes to verye beggerye) these gentlemen, I say, do not only lue in idlenesse themselves, but also carrye about

Of Idle seru-
yng men come
theues

with them at their tailes a great flocke or traine of idle and loyteryng seruynge men, which neuer learned any craft wherby to

gette their luynges These men as sone as their mayster is dead, or be sicke themselves, be incontinent thrust out of dores For gentlemen hadde rather keepe

idle persones, then sicke men, and many times the dead mans heyre is not hable to mainteine so great a house,

and kepe so many seruing men as his father dyd. Then in the meane season they that be thus destitute of seruice,

either starue for honger, or manfullye playe the theues. For what would you haue them to do? When they

haue wandred abroad so longe, vntyl they haue worne threde bare their apparell, and also appaired their helth,

then gentlemen because of their pale and sickely faces, and patched cotes, wil not take them into seruice. And

husbandmen dare not set them a worke: Knowynge wel ynoughe that he is nothing mete to doe trewe and

faythful ſeruiſe to a poore man wyth a ſpade and a
 mattoke for ſmall wages and hard fare, whyche beyng
 deyntely and tenderly pampered vp in ydilnes and plea-
 ſure. was wont with a ſworde and a buckler by hys ſyde
 to iette through the ſtrete with a bragginge loke, and
 to thynke hym ſelfe to good to be anye mans mate.
 Naye by faynt Mary fir (quod the lawier) not ſo. For
 this kinde of men muſte we make moſte of. For in them
 as men of ſtowter ſtomackes, bolder ſpirites, and man-
 lyer courages then handycraftes men and plowemen be,
 doth conſiſte the whole powre, ſtrength, and purſaunce
 of oure army, when we muſte fight in battayle Forſothe
 fir aſwell you myghte ſaye (quod I) yat for warres ſake
 you muſte cheryſhe theues For ſuerly you ſhall neuer
 lacke theues, whyles you haue them No nor theues
 be not the moſt falſe and faynt harted ſol-
 diers, nor ſouldiours be not the cowardleſte
 theues ſo wel thees. ii. craftes agree toge-
 ther. But this faulte, though it be much vſed amonge
 you, yet is it not peculiar to you only, but commen alſo
 almoſte to all nations Yet Fraunce beſides this is
 troubled and infected with a much ſorer plague The
 whole royalme is fylled and beſieged with hiered ſoul-
 diours in peace tyme (yf that bee peace) whyche be
 brought in vnder the ſame colour and pretenſe, that
 hath perſuaded you to kepe theſe ydell ſeruyng men.
 For thies wyſefoolles and verye archedoltes thought the
 wealth of the whole countrey herin to conſiſt, if there
 were euer in a redineſſe a ſtrong and ſure garrifon,
 ſpecially of old practiſed ſouldiours, for they put no truſt
 at all in men vnexerciſed. And therfore they muſt be
 forced to ſeke for warre, to the ende thei may euer haue
 practiſed ſouldiours, and cunnyng manſleiers, leſt that
 (as it is pretely ſayde of Saluſt) their handes and their
 mindes through idlenes or lacke of exerciſe, ſhould
 waxe dul. But howe pernitiouſ and peſtulenet a thyng
 it is to maintayne ſuche beaſtes, the Frenche men,
 by their owne harmes haue learned, and the examples
 of the Romaines, Carthaginiens, Syriens, and of man-

Betwene ſol-
 diers and theues
 ſmal diuerſitie

ye other countreyes doo manifestly declare. For not
 onlye the Empire, but also the fieldes and
 Cities of all theſe, by diuers occasions haue
 been ouerrunnen and deſtroyed of their
 ownearmies before hande had in a redineſſe.
 Now how vnneceſſary a thinge this is,
 hereby it maye appeare: that the Frenche ſouldiours,
 which from their youth haue ben practiſed and inured
 in feates of armes, do not cracke nor aduaunce them-
 ſelves to haue very often gotte the vpper hand and
 maſtry of your new made and vnpractiſed ſouldiours.
 But in this poynte I wyll not vſe many woordes, leſte
 perchaunce I maye ſeeme to flatter you. No nor thoſe
 ſame handy craſte men of yours in Cities, nor yet the
 rude and vplandiſh plowmen of the countreye, are not
 ſuppoſed to be greatly affrayde of your gentlemens idle
 ſeruyngmen, vnleſſe it be ſuche as be not of body or
 ſtatue correſpondent to their ſtrength and courage,
 or els whoſe bolde ſtomakes be diſcouraged throughe
 pouertie. Thus you may ſee, that it is not to be feared
 leſt they ſhoulde be effeminated, if thei were brought
 vp in good craſtes and labourſome woorkes, whereby
 to gette their huynges, whoſe ſtoute and ſtuidye bodyes
 (for gentlemen vouchſafe to corrupte and ſpill none
 but picked and choſen men) now either by reaſon of
 reſt and idleneſſe be brought to weakenefſe. or els by
 eaſy and womanly exerciſes be made feble, and vn-
 able to endure hardneſſe. Truly howe ſo euer the
 caſe ſtandeth, thys me thinketh is nothing auayeable
 to the weale publique, for warre ſake, which you neuer
 haue, but when you wyl your ſelves, to keepe and main-
 teyn an vnnumerable flocke of that ſort of men, that
 be ſo troubleſome and noyous in peace. Whereof you
 ought to haue a thowſand times more regarde, then of
 warre. But yet this is not only the neceſſary cauſe of
 ſtealing (There is an other, whych, as I ſuppoſe, is
 p[ro]per and peculiar to you Engliſhmen alone. What is
 that, quod the Cardinal? forſoth my lorde (quod I)
 your ſhepe that were wont to be ſo meke and tame, and

so smal eaters, now, as I heare saye, be become so great deuowerers and so wylde, that they eate vp, and swallow downe the very men them selves. They consume, destroye, and deuoure whole fieldes, howses, and cities. For looke in what partes of the realme doth growe the fynest, and therfore dearest woll, there noble men, and gentlemen. yea and certeyn Abbottes, holy men no doubt, not contenting them selves with the yearely reuenues and profytes, that were wont to grow to theyr forefathers and predeceffours of their landes, nor beyng content that they lue in rest and pleasure nothinge profiting, yea much noyinge the weale publique. leaue no grounde for tillage, thei inclose al into pastures: thei throw doune houses: they plucke downe townes, and leaue nothing standyng, but only the churche to be made a shepehowse. And as thoughe you losse no small quantity of grounde by forestes, chases, laundes, and parkes, those good holy men turne all dwellinge places and all glebeland into desolation and wildernes. Therfore that on couetous and vnstiable cormaraunte and very plague of his natyue contrey maye compasse aboute and inclose many thousand akers of grounde to gether within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust owte of their owne, or els either by coueyne and fraude, or by violent oppression they be put besydes it, or by wronges and injuries thei be so wried, that they be compelled to sell all: by one meanes therfore or by other, either by hooke or crooke they muste needes departe awaye, poore, selye, wretched soules, men, women, husbands, wiuues, fatherlesse children, widowes, wofull mothers, with their yonge babes, and their whole houshold smal in substance, and muche in numbre, as husbandrye requireth manye handes. Awaye thei trudge, I say, out of their knowen and accustomed houses, fyndyng no place to reste in. All their housholdstufte, whiche is verye litle woorth, though it myght well abide the sale: yet deeynge sodainely thruste oute, they be con-

English shepe
deuourers of
men.

Shepe mai-
sters decayers
of husbandrye.

The decaye of
husbandry cau-
seth beggery,
which is the
mother of va-
gaboundes and
theues

The cause of
dearth of vic-
tuales

What inconue-
nience commeth
of dearth of
wolles

The cause of
dearth of wol

Dearth of cat-
tel with the
cause therof.

strayned to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they haue wandered abroad tyll that be spent, what can they then els doo but steale, and then iustly pardy be hanged, or els go about a beggyng. And yet then also they be caste in prison as vagaboundes, because they go aboute and worke not: whom no man wyl set a worke, though thei neuer so willyngly profre themselves therto. For one Shepheard or Heardman is ynoughe to eate vp that ground with cattel, to the occupiying wherof aboute husbandrye manye handes were requisite. And this is also the cause why victualles be now in many places dearer. Yea, besides this the price of wolles is so risen, that poore folkes, which were wont to worke it, and make cloth therof, be nowe hable to bye none at all. And by thys meanes verie manye be forced to forsake worke, and to geue themselves to idelnesse. For after that so much ground was inclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of shepe dyed of the rotte, suche vengeance God toke of their inordinate and vnfaciable couetousnes, sendinge amonge the shepe that pestiferous morrein, whiche much more iustly shoulde haue fallen on the shepemaisters owne heades. And though the number of shepe increase neuer so faste, yet the price falleth not one myte, because there be so fewe sellers. For they be almooste all comen into a fewe riche mennes handes, whome no neade forceth to sell before they lust, and they luste not before they maye sell as deare as they luste. Now the same cause bringeth in like dearth of the other kindes of cattell, yea and that so much ye more, bicause that after fermes plucked downe, and husbandry decayed, there is no man that passethe for the breadynge of younge stoore. For these riche men brynge not vp the yonge ones of greate cattel as they do lambes. But first they bie them abroad verie chepe, and afterward when they be fatted in their pas-

ures, they sell them agayne excedynge deare. And therefore (as I suppose) the whole incommoditie hereof is not yet felte. For yet they make deaith onely in those places, where they sell. But when they shall fetch them away from thence wheare they be bredde faster then they can be broughte vp: then shall there also be felte greate deaith, stoore beginning there to faile, where the ware is boughte. Thus the vnreasonable couetousnes of a few hath turned yat thing to the

vtter vndoing of your ylande, in the whiche thyng the cheife felicitie of your realme did consist. For this greate deaith of victualles causeth men to kepe as litle houses, and as smale hospitalitie as they possible maye, and to put away their seruantes: whether, I pray you, but a beggyng: or elles (whyche these gentell bloudes, and stoute stomackes, wyll sooner set their myndes vnto) a stealing? Nowe to amende the matter, to this wretched beggerie, and miserable pouertie is ioyned greate wantonnes, importunate superfluitie, and

Dearth of victualles is the decay of house keeping, whereof ensueth beggery and thefte

exceffiue riote. For not only gentle mennes seruantes, but also handicrafe men. yea and almooste the ploughmen of the countrey, with al other sortes of people, vse muche straunge and proude newefanglenes in their apparell, and to muche prodigall riotte, and sumptuous fare at their table. Nowe bawdes, queines, whoores, harlottes, strumpettes, brothelhouses, stewes, and yet an other stewes wynetaurnes, ale houses, and

Excesse in apparell and diet a maintainer of beggery and thefte

tiplinge houses, with so manye noughtie, lewde, and vnlawfull games, as dyce, cardes, tables, tennis, boules, coytes, do not all these sende the haunTERS of themstreyghte a stealyng when theyr money is gone? Caste oute these pernicious abominations, make a lawe, that they, whiche plucked downe fermes, and townes of husbandrie, shal reedifie them, or els yelde, and vprender the possession therof to suche, as wil go to the cost of buylding them anewe. Suffer not these riche men

Bawdes, whores, wynetaurnes, alehouses, and vnlawfull games be very mothers of theues

is gone? Caste oute these pernicious abominations, make a lawe, that they, whiche plucked downe fermes, and townes of husbandrie, shal reedifie them, or els yelde, and vprender the possession therof to suche, as wil go to the cost of buylding them anewe. Suffer not these riche men

to bievpal, to ingrosse, and forstalle, and with their monopolie to kepe the market alone as please them.

Rich men ingrossers and forestallers

Let not so many be brought vp in idelines, let husbandry and tillage be restored, let clothe-working be renewed, that thcr may be honest labours for this idell sort to passe their tyme in profitablye, whiche hitherto either pouertie hath caused to be theues, or elles now be either vagabondes, or idel serueng men, and shortelye wil be theues. Doubtles onles you finde a remedy for these enormities, you shall in vaine aduance your selues of executing iustice vpon fellows. For this iustice is more beautiful in apperance, and

The corrupte education of youth a mother of theuery.

more flourishing to the shewe, then either iuste or profitable. For by suffering your youthe wantonlie, and viciously to be brought vp, and to be infected, euen frome theyr tender age, by litle and litle with vice then a goddes name to be punished, when they commit the same faultes after being come to mans state, which from their youthe they were euer like to do. In this pointe, I praye you, what other thing do you, then make theues, and then punish them? Now as I was thus speakeinge, the Lawier began to make hym selfe readie to answere, and was determined with him selfe to vse the common fashion, and trade of disputers, whiche be more diligent in reherfinge, then answering, as thinking the memorie worthy of the chief praise. In dede sir, quod he, you haue said wel, being but a straunger, and one that myghte rather heare some thing of these matters, then haue any exacte or perfecte knowledge of the same, as I wil incontinent by open proffe make manifest and plaine. For firste I will reherse in order all that you haue sayde: then I wyll declare wherein you be deceaued, through lacke of knowledge, in all oure fashions, maners and customes: and last of all I will aunswere youre argumentes, and confute them euery one. Firste therefore I wyll begynne where I promysed. Foure thynges you semed to me. Holde youre peace, quod the Car

dinall for it appeareth that you will make
 no shorte aunfwere, which make fuche a
 beginnyng. Wherefore at this time you
 shall not take the paynes to make youre aun[s]were,
 but kepe it to youre nexte meatyng, which I woulde
 be righte glad, that it might be euen to morrowe next,
 onles either you or mayster Raphael haue any earnest
 let. But nowe mayster Raphael, I woulde verye gladiye
 heare of you, why you thinke theste not worthe to be
 punished with deathe, or what other punisshmente you
 can deuise more expedient to the weale publique. For
 I am sure you are not of that minde, that you woulde
 haue theste escape vnpunished. For yf nowe the ex-
 treme punisshmente of deathe can not cause them to
 leaue stealinge, then yf ruffians and robbers shoulde be
 fuer of their lyues: what violence, what feare were
 hable to holde their handes from robbing, whiche
 woulde take the mitigation of the punisshmente, as a
 a verye prouocation to the mischiese?
 Suerlye my lorde, quod I, I thinke it not
 ryght nor iustice, that ye losse of money
 should cause the losse of mans life. For
 myne opinion is, that all the goodes in the worlde are
 not hable to counteruayle mans life. But if they
 would thus say: that the breakyng of iustice, and the
 transgression of the lawes is recompensed with this
 punisshment, and not the losse of the money, then why
 maye not this extreme and rigorous iustice wel be called
 plaine iniurie? For so cruell gouernaunce,
 so streite rules, and vnmercyful lawes be
 not allowable, that if a small offense be committed, by
 and by the sword should be drawen. Nor so stoical
 ordinaunces are to be borne withall, as to counte al
 offenses of fuche equalitie, that the killing of a man, or
 the takyng of his money from him were both a matter,
 and the one no more heinous offense then the other:
 betwene the whyche two, yf we haue anye respecte to
 equitie, no similitude or equalitie consisteth. God
 commaundeth vs that we shall not kill. And be we

He is worthe-
 he put to silence
 that is to full
 of wordes

That theste
 ought not to be
 punished by
 death.

Straite lawes
 not allowable

then so hastie to kill a man for takinge a litle money?
And if any man woulde vnderstande killing by this
commaundement of God, to be forbidden after no larger
wife, then mans constitutions define killynge to be law-

That mans
law ought not
to be preiudicial
to gods law

full, then whye maye it not lykewise by
mans constitutions be determined after
what sort whordome, fornication, and per-
iurie may be lawfull? For where as by
the permission of God, no man hath power to kil
neither himself, nor yet anye other man: then yf a
lawe made by the consent of men, concerninge slaughter
of men · oughte to be of suche strengthe, force, and
vertue, that they which contrarie to the commaunde-
ment of God haue killed those, whom this constitution
of man commaunded to be killed, be cleane quite and
exempte out of the bondes and daunger to Gods com-
maundement. shall it not then by this reason follow,
that the power of Gods commaundemente shall exte-
nde no further, then mans lawe doeth define,
and permitte? And so shall it come to passe, that
in like maner mans constitutions in al thinges shal
determine how farre the obseruation of all Gods com-
maundementes shall extende. To be shorte Moyyses
law, though it were vngentle and sharpe, as a law that
was geuen to bondmen, yea; and them very obsti-
nate, stubborne, and styfnecked · yet it punished theste
by the purse, and not wyth death. And

Theste in the
olde lawe not
punished by
death.

let vs not thinke that God in the newe law
of clemencie and mercye, vnder the whiche
he ruleth vs with fatherlie gentlenes, as his
deare children hathe geuen vs greater scoupe and licence
to the execution of cruelte, one vpon another. Nowe
ye haue heard the reasons whereby, I am perswaded
that this punishment is vnlawful. Furthermore I thinke

What inconue-
nience ensueth
of punishynge
theft with
death.

ther is no body that knoweth not, how vn-
reasonable, yea: how pernicious a thinge
it is to the weale publike, that a thefe and
an homicide or murderer, shoulde suffer
equall and like punishment. For the thefe seyng that

man, that is condemned for theste in no lesse ieoperdie, nor iudged to no lesse punishment, then him that is conuicte of manslaughter: throughe this cogitation onelye he is strongly and forciblye prouoked, and in a maner constrained to kill him, whome els he woulde haue but robbed.

Punishing of theft by death causeth the theste to be a murderer

For the murder beyng ones done, he is in lesse feare, and in more hoope that the deede shall not be bewrayed or knowen, seyng the partye is now deade, and rydde oute of the waye, which onelye mighte haue vttered and disclosed it. But if he chaunce to be taken and discruied: yet he is in no more daunger and ieoperdie, then if he had committed but single felonye. Therefore whiles we go about with fuche crueltie to make theues aserd, we prouoke them to kil good men. Now as touchinge this question, what punishmente were more commodious and better: that truelye in my

iudgemente is easier to be founde, then what punishment might be wurse. For why should we doubt that to be a good and a profytable waye for the punishmente of offendours, whiche we knowe did in tymes paste so longe please the Romaines, men in the administration of a weale publike mooste experte, politique, and cunnyng? Suche as amonge them were conuicte of great and heynous trespases, them they condemned into stone quarries, and into mienes to digge mettalle,

What lawfull punishment may be deuised for theft.

there to be kepte in cheynes all the dayes of their life. But as concernyng this matter, I allow the ordinaunce of no nation so wel as yat which I sawe, whiles I traualled abroad aboute the worlde, vsed in Persia amonge the people that commenly be called the Polyerites. Whose land is both large and ample, and also well and wittelye gouerned: and the people in all conditions free and ruled by their owne lawes, sauunge that they paye a yearelye tribute to the great king of Persia. But bicause they be farre from the sea, compassed and inclosed, almooste rounde aboute with hyghe moun-

Howe the Romaines punished theste

A worthy and commendable punishment of theues in the weale publike of the Polyerites in Persia.

taines, and do content them selues with the fruites of their owne lande, whiche is of it selfe verie fertile and frutfull: for this cause neither they go to other countreys, nor other come to them And accordynge to the olde custome of the land, they desire not to enlarge the boundes of their dominions: and those that they haue by reason of the highe hilles be easely defended: and the tribute whiche they paye to their chiefe lord and kinge, setteth them quite and free from warfare. Thus their life is commodious rather then gallante, and may better be called happie or welthy, then notable or famous For they be not knowen asmuch, as by name, I suppose sauynge only to theyr next neighbours and borderes. They that in this lande be attainted and conuict of felony, make restitution of that which they stole, to the righte owner. and not (as they do in other landes) to the kinge: whome they thinke to haue no more righte to the thieftolen thinge, then the thiefe him selfe hathe. But if the thing be loste or made away, then the value of it is payde of the gooddes of such offenders, which els remaineth all whole to their wiues, and children And they them selues be condempned to be common laborers, and, oneles the thefte be verie heinous, they be neyther locked in prison, nor fettered in giues, but be vntied and go at large, laboring in the common workes. They that refuse labour, or go slowly and slacklye to thei worke, be not onelye tied in cheynes, but also pricked forward with stripes. But beinge diligente aboute theyr worke they lue without checke or rebuke Every night they be called in by name: and be locked in theyr chambers. Beside their dayly labour, their life is nothing hard or incommodious. Their fare is indifferent good, borne at the charges of the weale publike, bicause they be commen seruantes to the commen wealth But their charges in all places of the lande is not borne alike. For in some partes that which is bestowed vpon them is gathered in almes. And thoughe that waye be vncertain, yet

A priue nippe
for them that
do otherwise

Theues con-
dempned to be
commen labour-
ers

the people be so full of mercy and pitie, that none is found more profitable or plentiful. In some places certain landes be appointed hereunto: of the reuenewes whereof they be maintained. And in some places euerye man geueth a certain tribute for ye same vse and purpose. Againe in some partes of the land these seruing men (for so be these Seruing men dampned persons called) do no common worke, but as euerye priuate man nedeth labourers, so he commeth into the markette place, and there hiereth some of them for meate and drinke, and a certeine limited waiges by the daye, sumwhat cheper then he shoulde hire a free man. It is also lawefull for them to chastice the slouth of these seruinge men with stripes. By this meanes they neuer lacke worke, and besides the gayninge of their meate and drinke, euerye one of them bringeth dailie some thing into the common treasourie. All and euery one of them be apparailled in one coloure. Their heades be not polled or shauen, but rounded a litle aboue the eares. And the tpye of the one eare is cut of. Euery one of them maye take meate and drinke of their frendes, and also a coate of their owne colloure. but to receiue money is deathe, aswell to the geuer, as to the receiuer. And no lesse leopordie it is for a free man to receiue moneye or a seruynge manne for anye maner of cause. and lykewise for seruinge men to touche weapons. The seruinge men of euerye feuerall shire be distincte and knowen frome other by their feuerall and distincte badges. whiche to caste awaye is death: as it is also to be sene oute of the precincte of their owne shire, or to talke with a seruinge man of another shyre. And it is lesse daunger to them, for to intende to An euell intent esteemed as the dede runne awaye, then to do it in dede. Yea and to conceal suche an enterprys in a seruinge man it is deathe, in a free man seruitude. Of the contrarie parte, to him that openeth and vttereth suche counselles, be decreed large giftes to a free man a great some of money, to a seruing man freedome:

and to them bothe forgeuenes and pardone of that they were of counsell in that pretence. So that it can neuer be so good for them to go forewarde in their euyl purpose, as by repentaunce to tourne backe. This is the lawe and order in this behalfe, as I haue shewed you. Wherein what humanitie is vsed, howe farre it is frome

The right end
and intent of
punishment

crueltie, and howe commodious it is, you do playnelye perceauē. For asmuche as the ende of their wrath and punyshement intendeth nothyngē elles, but the destruction of vices, and sauynge of menne · wyth so vsynge, and ordering them, that they can not chuse but be good, and what harme so euer they did before, in the residue of theyr life to make amēdes for the same. Moreouer it is so litle feared, that they shoulde tourne agayne to their vicious conditions, that wayefaringe men wyl for their sauegarde chuse them to theyr guydes before any other, in euery sheir chaunging and taking new. For if they would committe robbery, they haue nothinge aboute them meate for that purpose. They may touch no weapons : money founde aboute them shoulde betraie the robbery. They shoulde be no sooner taken with the maner, but furthwith they shoulde be punished. Neither they can haue any hope at all to skape away by flenge. For howe shoulde a man, that in no parte of his apparell is like other men, flye preuelie and vnknownen, onles he woulde runne away naked? Howebeit so also flyngē he shoulde be discruied by the roundyng of his heade, and his eare marke. But it is a thinge to be doubted, that they will laye theyr heddes together, and conspire againste the weale publique. No no I warrante you. For the seruynge men of one sheire alone coulde neuer hoope to bringe to passe suche an enterpryse, without sollicitinge, entyngē, and alluryngē the seruynge men of manye other shieres to take their partes. Whiche thinge is to them so impossible, that they maye not asmuch as speake or talke together, or salute one another. No it is not to be thoughte that they woulde

make theyr owne countrey men and companions of their counsell in fuche a matter, whiche they knowe well should be ieopardie to the concealour thereof, and great commoditie and goodnes to the opener and detectour of the same. Whereas on the other parte, there is none of them all hopeles or in dispaire to recouer againe his former estate of fredome, by humble obedience, by patiente suffringe, and by geuing good tokens and likelyhoode of himselfe, that he wyll euer after that, lyue like a trewe, and an honest man For euerye yeare diuers of them be restored to their freedom: throughe the commendation of their patience. Whan I had thus spoken, sayinge moreover that I coulde see no cause why this ordre might not be had in Englande with muche more profyte, then the Iustice whiche the lawyer so heighly praycted: Naye, quod the lawier, this coulde neuer be so stablyshed in Englande, but that it must nedes bringe the weale publike into great ieoperdie and hasarde. And as he was thus sayinge, he shaked his heade, and made a wrie mouthe, and so he helde his peace. And all that were there present, with one assent agreed to his sayinge. Well, quod the Cardinall, yet it were harde to iudge withoute a proffe, whether this order would do wel here or no But when the sentence of death is geuen, if than the kinge shoulde commaunde execution to be deferred and spared, and would proue this order and fasshion: takinge awaye the priuileges of all faintuaries: if then the profe shoulde declare the thinge to be good and profitable, than it were wel done that it were stablyshed. Els the condempned and repriued persons may aswel and as iustly be put to death after this profe, as when they were first cast. Neither any ieoperdie can in the meane space growe herof. Yea, and me thynketh that these ^{Vagaboundes.} vagaboundes may very wel be ordered after the same fasshion, against whom we haue hitherto made so many lawes, and so litle preuailed. When the Cardinall had thus saide, than euery man gaue greate praise

to my sayinges, whiche a litle before they had dis-
 allowed But moost of al was esteemed that
 The wauering iudgements of flatterers which was spoken of vagaboundes, bicause
 it was the cardinales owne addition. I can
 not tell whether it were best to reherse the communica-
 tion that folowed, for it was not very sad. But yet you
 shall heare it, for there was no euil in it, and partlie
 it pertained to the matter before saide. There chaunced
 to stand by a certain iesting parasite, or scoffer, which
 wold seme to resemble and counterfeit ye foole. But
 he did in suche wise counterfeit, that he was almost ye
 verve same in dede that he labored to represent: he
 so studied with wordes and sayinges brought furth so
 out of time and place to make spoite and moue laugh-
 ter, that he himselfe was oftener laughed at then his
 iestes were. Yet the foolishse fellowe brought out
 now and then such indifferent and reasonable stufte,
 that he made the prouerbe true, which saieth: he that
 shoteth oft, at the last shal hit the mark. So that when
 one of the company sayd, that throughe my communi-
 cation a good order was founde for theues, and that
 the Cardinal also had wel provided for vagaboundes,
 so that only remained some good prouision
 to be made for them that through sicknes
 and age were fallen into pouertie, and were
 become so impotent and vnweldie, that they were not
 hable to worke for their liunge. Tushe (quod he) let me
 alone with them. you shall se me do well ynough with
 them. For I had rather then any good, that this kinde
 of people were driuen sumwher oute of my sight, they
 haue so fore troubled me manye times and ofte, when
 they haue wyth their lamentable teares begged money
 of me. and yet they coulde neuer to my mynde so tune
 their songe, that thereby they euer got of me one far-
 thinge. For euer more the one of these two chaunced:
 either that I would not, or els that I could not, bicause
 I had it not. Therefore now they be waxed wise. For
 when they see me go by, bicause they will not leefe
 theyr labour, they let me passe and saye not one worde

to me. So they loke for nothings of me, no in good sothe no more, then yf I were a priest, or a monke. But I will make a lawe, that all these beggers shall be distributed, and bestowed into houses of religion. The men shalbe made laye brethren, as they call them, and the women nunnnes. Hereat the Cardinal smiled, and allowed it in iest, yea and all the residue in good earnest. But a certene freare graduate in diuinitie, toke suche pleasure and delite in this ieste of priestes and monkes, that he also beyng elles a man of grisse and sterne grauitie, began merlie and wantonlye to ieste and taunt. Naye, quod he, you shall not so be ridde and dispatched of beggers, oneles you make some prouision also for vs frears. Why, quod the iester, that is done alreadie, for my lord him selfe set a verye good order for you, when he decreed that vagaboundes should be kept straite, and set to worke: for you be the greatest and veriest vagaboundes that be. This iest also, when they sawe the Cardinall not disproue it, every man toke it gladly, sauynge onelye the Frear. For he (and that no marueile) beyng thus touched on the quicke, and hit on the gaule, so fret, so fumed, and chafed at it, and was in such a rage, that he could not refraine himselfe from chidinge, skolding, railing, and reuiling. He called the fellow ribbalde, villaine, iauel, backbiter, sclaunderer, and the childe of perdition: cinginge therwith terrible threateninges out of holie Scripture. Then the iestyng scoffer beganne to playe the scoffer in dede, and verely he was good at yt, for he could play a part in that play no man better. Patient youre selfe good maister Freare, quod he, and be not angrie, for scripture saeth: in youre patience you shall saue your soules. Then the Freare (for I will rehearse his own very woordes) No gallous wretche, I am not angrie (quod he) or at the leaste wise, I do not sinne: for the Psalmiste saith, be you angrie, and sinne not. Then the Cardinal spake gently to the freare, and desired him to quiete him-

A common pro-
uerbe amonge
beggars

A mery talke
betwene a
Freare and a
foole

Talke qualifi-
ed according to
the person that
speaketh.

felfe. No my lord, quod he, I ſpeak not but of a good zeale as I oughte: for holye men had a good zeale. Wherefore it is ſayd: the zeale of thy houſe hath eaten me. And it is ſonge in the church The ſkorners of Heli-zeus, whiles he went vp into the houſe of God, felte the zeale of the bald, as peraduenture this ſkorning vil-laine ribaulde ſhall feele. You do it (quod the Cardi-nall) perchaunce of a good mynde and affection: but me thinketh you ſhould do, I can not tell whether more holilie, certes more wiſely, yf you woulde not ſet youre witte to a fooles witte, and with a foole take in hande a fooliſhe contention. No forſoeth my lorde (quod he) I ſhoulde not do more wyſely For Salomon the wyſe ſaith: Anſwere a foole accordinge to his folye, like as I do now, and do ſhew him the pit that he ſhall fall into, yf he take not hede. For if many ſkorners of Heli-zeus, whiche was but one bald man, felte the zeale of the balde, how muche more ſhall one ſcorner of many frears feele, amonge whom be manye balde men? And we haue alſo the popes bulles, whereby all that mocke and ſcorne vs be excommunicate, ſuſpended, and acur-fed The cardinal, ſeing that none ende would be made, ſent awaie the ieſter by a preuy becke, and turned the communication to an other matter. Shortly after, when he was riſen from the table, he went to heare his ſueters, and ſo dimiſſed vs. Looke maſter More wyth how longe and tedious a tale I haue kept you, which ſurely I woulde haue bene aſhamed to haue done, but that you ſo earneſtly deſired me, and did after ſuch a forte geue eare vnto it, as though you would not that any parcel of that communication ſhould be left out. Whiche thoughe I haue done ſumwhat briefly, yet could I not chuſe but rehearſe it, for the iudgemente of them, whyche when they had improued and diſ-allowed my ſayinges, yet incontinent hearynge the Cardi-nall allowe them, dyd themſelues alſo approue the ſame: ſo impudently flattering him, that they wer nothing aſhamed to admitte, yea almoſte in good earneſt, his ieſters foliſh inuentions. becauſe that he him ſelfe by

smiling at them did seme not to disproue them. So that hereby you may right wel perceauē how litle the courtiers woulde regarde and esteeme me and my sayinges

I ensue you maister Raphael, quod I, I toke greate delectacion in hearing you: all thinges that you saide were spoken so wittilye and so pleasauntly. And me thought me selfe to be in the meane time, not onelye at home in my countrei, but also through the pleasaunt remembraunce of the Cardinal, in whose house I was broughte vp of a childe, to waxe a child againe. And frend Raphael, though I did beare verye greate loue towardes you before, yet seyng you do so earnestlye fauoure this man, you wyll not beleue howe muche my loue towardes you is nowe increased. But yet, all this notwithstandinge, I can by no meanes chaunge my mind, but that I must nedes beleue, that you, if you be disposed, and can fynde in youre hearte to follow some Princes courte, shall with your good counselles greatlye helpe and further the commen wealthe. Wherefore there is nothyng more apperteyning to youre dewty, that is to saye, to the dewtie of a good man. For where as your Plato iudgeth that weale publiques shall by this meanes attayne perfecte felicitie, eyther if philosophers be kynges, or elles yf kynges geue themselves to the studie of Philosophie, how farre I praye you, shall commen wealthes then be frome thys felicitie, yf Philosophers wyll vouchesaufe to enstruct kynges with their good counsell?

They be not so vnkinde (quod he) but they woulde gladlye do it, yea, manye haue done it alreadye in bookes that they haue put furthe, if kynges and princes would be willyng and readye to folowe good counsell. But Plato doubtlesse dyd well foresee, onelesse kynges themselves woulde applye their mindes to the studye of Philosophie, that elles they woulde neuer thoroughlye allowe the counsell of Philosophers, beyng themselves before euen from their tender age infected, and corrupt with peruerse, and euill opinions. Whiche thyng Plato hymselfe proued trewe in kinge Dionyse. If I shoulde propose to any kyng

wholfome decrees, doynge my endeouore to p^usticke out of hys mynde the pernicious originall causes of vice and noughtines, thinke you not that I shoulde furthewith either be driuen away, or elles made a laughyng stocke? Well suppose I were with the Frenche kynge, and there fyttinge in his counsell, whiles in that mooste secrete consultation, the kynge him selfe there beyng presente in hys owne personne they beate their braynes, and ferche the verry bottomes of their wittes to discusse by

The Frenche-
men priu lie he
counseled from
the desire of
Italie

what crafte and meanes the kynge maye styl kepe Myllayne, and drawe to him againe fugitiue Naples, And then howe to conquere the Venetians, and how to bringe vnder his iurisdiction all Italie, then howe to win the dominion of Flaunders, Brabant, and of all Burgundie: with diuers other landes, whose kingdomes he hath longe ago in mind and purpose inuaded. Here whiles one counselleth to conclude a legue of peace with the Venetians, so longe to endure, as shall be thought mete and expedient for their purpose, and to make them also of their counsell, yea, and besides that to geue them part of the pray, whiche afterwarde, when they haue brought theyr purpose about after their owne myndes, they maye require and clayme againe. An other thinketh best to hieere the Germaines. An other woulde

Launce knightes

haue the fauoure of the Swychers wonne with money. An others aduise is to appease the puiſſaunte power of the Emperoures maiestie wyth golde, as with a moſte pleaſaunte, and acceptable sacrifice Whiles an other gyueth counsell to make peace wyth the kynge of Arragone, and to restooore vnto him hys owne kyngedome of Nauarra, as a full assurance of peace. An other commeth in with his fine egges, and aduifeth to hooke in the kynge of Castell with some hope of affinitie or allyaunce, and to bringe to their parte certeine Peers of his courte for greate pensions. Whiles they all staye at the chiefeſte doubt of all, what to do in the meane time with Englande, and yet agree all in this to make peace with the

Englishmen, and with mooste fuer and stronge bandes to bynde that weake and feable frendeshippe, so that they muste be called frendes, and hadde in suspicion as enemyes. And that therfore the Skottes muste be hadde in a readines, as it were in a standyng, readie at all occasions, in aunters the Englishmen shoulde sturre neuer so lytle, incontinent to set vpon them. And moreouer preuile and secretlye (for openlie it maye not be done by the truce that is taken) priuile therefore I saye to make muche of some Piere of Englande, that is bannished hys countrey, whiche muste cleime title to the crowne of the realme, and affirme hym selfe iuste inherytoure thereof, that by this subtyll meanes they maye holde to them the kinge, in whome elles they haue but small truste and affiaunce. Here I saye, where so great and heyghe matters be in consultation, where so manye noble and wyse menne counsell theyr kynge onelie to warre, here yf I felie man shoulde rise vp and will them to tourne ouer the leafe, and learne a newe lesson, sayng that my counsell is not to medle with Italy, but to tarye styll at home, and that the kyngedome of Fraunce alone is almooste greater, then that it maye well be gouerned of one man: so that the kyng shoulde not nede to studye howe to gette more: And then shoulde propose vnto them the decrees of the people that be called the Achoriens, whiche be situate ouer agaynste the Ilande of Utopia. A notable exam-
on the southeaste side. These Achoriens ple, and wor-
ones made warre in their kinges quarrell thy to be folo-
wed.
for to gette him another kingdome, whiche he laide claime vnto, and auauenced hymselfe ryghte inherytoure to the crowne thereof, by the tytyle of an olde aliaunce. At the last when they had gotten it, an[d] sawe that they hadde euen as muche vexation and trouble in keepyng it, as they had in gettyng it, and that either their newe conquered subiectes by fundrye occasions were makynge daylye insurrections to rebell agaynste them, or els that other countreis were continuallie with diuers inrodes and forragynges inuadyng them: so that they were

euer fighting either for them, or agaynste them, and neuer coulde breake vp theyr campes: Seynge them selues in the meane season pyllled and impouerished: their money caried out of the realme: their own men killed to maintaine the glorye of an other nation: when they had no warre, peace nothyng better then warre, by reason that their people in war had so inured themselues to corrupte and wicked maners: that they had taken a delite and pleasure in robbing and stealing: that through manslaughter they had gathered boldnes to mischief: that their lawes were had in contempte, and nothing fet by or regarded: that their king beyng troubled with the charge and gouernaunce of two kingdomes, could not nor was not hable perfectlie to discharge his office towardes them both: seing againe that all these euellles and troubles were endles: at the laste layde their heades together, and like faithfull and louinge subiectes gaue to their kynge free choise and libertie to kepe styll the one of these two kingdomes whether he would. alleging that he was not hable to kepe both, and that they were mo then might well be gouerned of halfe a king: forasmuche as no man woulde be content to take him for his mulettour, that kepeth an other mans moyles besydes his. So this good prince was constrained to be content with his olde kyngedome, and to geue ouer the newe to one of his frendes. Who shortelye after was violentlie driuen out. Furthermore if I shoulde declare vnto them, that all this busie preparaunce to warre, wherby so many nations for his sake shoulde be broughte into a troublesome hurlei-burley when all his coffers were emptied. his treasures wasted, and his people destroied, shoulde at the length through some mischance be in vaine and to none effect: and that therefore it were best for him to content him selfe with his owne kingedome of fraunce, as his forfathers and predeceffours did before him: to make much of it, to enrich it, and to make it as flourishing as he could, to endeuoure him selfe to loue his subiectes, and againe to be beloued of them, willingly

to liue with them, peaceably to gouerne them, and with other kyngdomes not to medle, feinge that whiche he hath all redde is euen ynoughe for him, yea and more then he can wel turne hym to. this myne aduysse maister More, how thinke you it would be harde and taken?

So God helpe me not very thankfully, quod I.

Wel let vs procede then, quod he. Suppose that some kyng and his counsell were together whettinge their wittes and deuisinge, what subtell crafte they myght inuente to enryche the kinge with great treasures of money. First one counsellere to rayse and enhaunce the valuation of money when the kinge must paye anye: and agayne to calle downe the value of coyne to lesse them it is worthe, when he must receiue or gather any. For thus great sommes shalbe payde wyth a lytyl money, and where lytle is due muche shalbe receaued. An other counsellere to Enhauncynge and imbasynge of coynes. sayne warre, that when vnder this coloure Counterfayte warres and pretence the kyng hath gathered greate aboundaunce of money, he maye, when it shall please him, make peace with greate solempnitie and holye ceremonies, to blinde the eyes of the poore communitie, as taking pitie and compassion forsothe vpon mans bloude, lyke a louing and a mercifull prince. An other putteth the kyng in remembrance of certeine olde and moughteeaten The renewing of olde lawes lawes, that of longe tyme haue not bene put in execution, whych because no man can remembre that they were made, euerie man hath transgressed. The fynes of these lawes he counsellere the kyng to require for there is no waye so profitable, nor more honorable, as the whyche hathe a shewe and coloure of iustice. An other aduyseth him to forbidde manye Restrayntes thinges vnder greate penalties and fines, specially suche thinges as is for the peoples profit not be vsed, and afterwarde to dispence for money with them, whyche by this prohibition substeine losse and dammage. For by this meanes the fauour of the people is wonne, and profite riseth two wayes. First by tak-

inge forfaytes of them whome couetoufnes of gaynes
 hath brought in daunger of this statute, and
 Sellyng of li-
 cences also by fellingne priuileges and licences,
 whyche the better that the prince is forsothe, the deerer
 he selleth them: as one that is lothe to graunte to any
 priuate persone anye thinge that is againste the profite
 of his people. And therefore maye sel none but at an
 exceding dere pryce. An other giueth the kynge coun-
 sel to endaunger vnto his grace the iudges of the
 Realme, that he maye haue them euer on his side, and
 that they maye in euerye matter despute and reason for
 the kynges right. Yea and further to call them into his
 palace and to require them there to argue and discusse
 his matters in his owne prefence. So there shalbe no
 matter of his so openlye wronge and vniuste, wherein
 one or other of them, either because he wyl haue sum-
 thinge to allege and obiecte or that he is ashamed to
 saye that whiche is sayde alreadye, or els to pike a
 thanke with his prince, wil not fynde some hole open to
 set a snare in, wherewith to take the contrarie parte in
 a trippe. Thus whiles the iudges cannot agree amonges
 them selves, reasoninge and arguing of that which is
 playne enough, and bringinge the manifest trewth in
 dowte: in the meane season the Kinge maye take
 a fyt occasion to vnderstand the lawe as shal moste
 make for his aduantage, wherevnto all other for shame,
 or for feare wil agree. Then the Iudges may be
 bolde to pronounce on the kynges side. For he that
 geueth sentence for the king, cannot be without a good
 excuse. For it shalbe sufficient for him to haue equitie
 on his part, or the bare wordes of the lawe, or a wry-
 then and wrested vnderstandinge of the same (or els,
 whiche with good and iust Iudges is of greater force then
 all lawes be) the Kynges indisputable prerogative. To
 The sayng of
 riche Crassus conclude, al the counsellours agre and con-
 sent together with the ryche Crassus, that
 no abundance of gold can be sufficient for a prince,
 which muste kepe and maynteyne an armie: further-
 more that a kynge, thoughē he would, can do nothinge

vniustlye. For all that all men haue, yea also the men them selves be all his. And that euery man hath so much of his owne, as ye kynges gentilles hath not taken from hym. And that it shalbe moſte for the kynges aduantage, that his subiectes haue very lytle or nothinge in their possession, as whose sauegarde doth herein consiste, that his people doe not waxe wanton and wealtheie through riches and libertie, because where these thinges be, there men be not wonte patiently to obeye harde, vniuste, and vnlawefull commaundementes. Where as on the other part neade and pouertie doth holde downe and kepe under flowte courages, and maketh them patient perforce, takynge from them bolde and rebell ynge stomakes. Here agayne if I shoulde ryfe vp, and boldelye affirme that all these counselles be to the kinge dishonoure and reproche, whose honoure and safetie is more and rather suppoited and vpholden by the wealth and ryches of his people, then by hys owne treasures and if I should declare that the comminaltie chuefeth their king for their owne sake, and not for his sake to the intent, that through his laboure and studie they might al hie wealtheily sauſſe from wronges and iniuries: and that therfore the kynge ought to take more care for the wealthe of his people, then for his owne wealthe, euen as the office and dewtie of a shepehearde is in that he is a shepherde, to feede his shepe rather then himselfe. For as towching this, that they thinke the defence and mayntenaunce of peace to consiste in the pouertie of the people, the thing it selfe sheweth that they be farre out of the waye. For where shal a man finde more wrangling, quarrelling, brawling, and chiding, then among beggers? Who be more desierous of newe mutations and alterations, then they that be not content with the present state of their lyfe? Or finallye who be bolder stomaked to bringe all in a hurieburlye (therby trustinge to get some windfal) then they that haue nowe nothinge to leese? And yf any Kyng were so smally regarded, and so lightly esteemed, yea so behated of his subiectes, that

Pouertye the
mother of de-
bate and decal
of realmes

other wayes he could not kepe them in awe, but onely by open wronges, by pollinge and shauinge, and by bringinge them to beggerie, fewerly it were better for him to forsake his kingedome, then to holde it by this meanes. whereby though the name of a king be kepte, yet the maiestie is lost. For it is againste the dignitie of a kynge to haue rule ouer beggers, but rather ouer

A worthy saying of Fabrice
ryche and welthie men, Of this mynde was the hardie and couragius Fabrice, when he sayde, that he had rather be a ruler of riche men, then be ryche himselfe. And verelye one man to liue in pleasure and wealth, whyles all other wepe and smarte for it, that is the parte, not of a kynge, but of a sayler. To be shorte as he is a folythe phisition, that cannot cure his patientes diseafe, onles he caste him in an other syckenes, so he that cannot amende the liues of his subiectes, but be taking from them the wealth and commoditie of lyfe, he muste nedes graunte that, he knoweth not the feate how to gouerne men. But let him rather amende his owne lyfe, renounce vnhonest pleasures, and forsake pride. For these be the chiefe vices that cause hym to runne in the contempte or hatred of his people. Let him lyue of hys owne, hurtinge no man. Let him doe cost not aboue his power. Let hym restreyne wyckednes. Let him preuente vices, and take awaye the occasions of offenses by well orderinge hys subiectes, and not by sufferynge wickednes to increase afterward to be punished. Let hym not be to hastie in callinge agayne lawes, whyche a custome hathe abrogated: speciallye suche as haue bene longe forgotten, and neuer lacked nor needed. And let hym neuer vnder the cloke and pretence of transgression takee suche fynes and forfaytes, as no Iudge wyll suffre a priuate persone to take, as vniuste and ful of gyle.

A fleasinge and notable lawe of the Macariens.

Here if I should brynge forth before them the lawe of the Macariens, whiche be not farre distaunt from Utopia: whose Kynge the daye of hys coronation is bounde by a solempne othe, that he shall neuer at anye time haue

in hys treasure aboue a thousande pounde of golde or syluer. They saye a verye good kynge, whiche toke more care for the wealthe and commoditie of his countrey, then for th[e] enriching of him selfe, made this lawe to be a stop and a barre to kinges from heaping and hording vp so muche money as might impoueryshe their people. For he forfawe that this som of treasure woulde suffice to supporte the kynge in battaile against his owne people, if they shoulde chaunce to rebell: and also to maintain his waies againste the inuasions of his forreyn enemies. Againe he perceued the same stocke of money to be to litle and vnsufficient to encourage and enhable him wrongfullye to take away other mens goodes. whyche was the chiefe cause whie the lawe was made. An other cause was this. He thought that by this prouision his people shoulde not lacke money, wherewith to mayneteyne their dayly occupieng and chaffayre. And seyng the kynge could not chewse but laye out and bestowe al that came in aboue the prescript some of his stocke, he thought he woulde seke no occasions to doe his subiectes iniurie. Suche a kynge shalbe feared of euil men, and loued of good men. These, and suche other informations, yf I shoulde vse among men wholye inclined and geuen to the contrarye part, how deasse hearers thinke you shoulde I haue?

Deasse hearers douteles (quod I) And in good faith no marueyle. And to be plaine with you, truelye I can not allowe that suche communication shalbe vsed, or suche counsell geuen, as you be suere shall neuer be regarded nor receaued. For howe can so straunge informations be profitable, or how can they be beaten into their headdes, whose myndes be allredye preuented: with cleane contrarye persuations? This schole philosophie is not vnpleasaunte amonge frendes in familiare communication, but in the counselles of kinges, where greate matters be debated and reasoned with greate authoritye, these thinges haue no place.

Schole philosophie in the consultations of Princes hath no place

That is it whiche I mente (quod he) when I sayde philosophie hadde no place amonge kinges.

In dede (quod I) this schole philosophie hath not: whiche thinketh all thinges mete for euery place. But there is an other philosophye more ciuile, whyche knoweth, as ye wolde say, her owne stage, and thereafter orderynge and behauinge herselfe in the playe that she hathe in hande, playethe her parte accordinglye with comlyenes, vtteringe nothinge oute of dewe ordre and fassyon. And this is the philosophye that you muste vse. Or els whyles a

A fine and a
fytte similitude

commodye of Plautus is playinge, and the vyle bondemen skoffynge and tryffeling

amonge them selves, yf you shoulde sodenlye come vpon the stage in a Philosophers apparrell, and reherse oute of Octauia the place wherein Seneca disputeth

A dumme
plauer

with Nero · had it not bene better for you to haue played the domme persone, then by

reherfynge that, whych serued neither for the tyme nor place to haue made suche a tragycall comedye or gallymalfreye? For by bryngynge in other stufte that nothinge apperteyneth to the presente matter, you muste nedes marre and peruert the play that is in hand, thoughe the stufte that you bringe be muche better. What part foeuer you haue taken vpon you, playe that aswell as you can and make the best of it:

And doe not therefore disturbe and brynge oute of ordre the whole matter, bycause that an other, whyche is meryer and better cummeth to your remembraunce. So the case standeth in a common wealthe, and so it is in the consultations of Kynges and prynces. Yf euell opinions and noughty perswasions can not be vtterly and quyte plucked out of their hartes, if you can not euen as you wolde remedy vices, which vse and custome hath confirmed: yet for this cause you must not leaue and forsake the common wealthe: you muste not forsake the shippe in a tempeste, because you can not rule and kepe downe the wyndes. No nor you muste not laboure to dryue into their heades newe and straunge informations, whyche you knowe wel shalbe nothinge regarded wyth them that be of cleane contrary

mindes. But you must with a crafty wile and a subtell trayne studye and endeouore youre selfe, asmuche as in you lyethe, to handle the matter wyttelye and handesomelye for the purpose, and that whyche you can not turne to good, so to order it that it be not uerye badde. For it is not possible for al thinges to be well, onles all men were good. Whych I thinke wil not be yet thies good many yeares.

By this meanes (quod he) nothinge elles wyl be brought to passe, but whyles that I goe aboute to remedye the madnes of others, I shoulde be euen as madde as they. For if I wolde speake suche thinges that be trewe I must neades speake suche thinges: but as for to speake false thinges, whether that be a philosophers parte or no I can not tel, truelye it is not my part. Howebeit this communication of mine, though peraduenture it maye seme vnpleasaunte to them, yet can I not see why it shoulde seme straunge, or foolishelye newfangled. If so be that I should speake those thinges that Plato saynethe in his weale publique: or that the Utopians doe in theires, these thingesthough they were (as they be in dede) better, yet they myghte seme spoken oute of place. Forasmuche as here amonges vs, euerye man hathe his possessions feuerall to him selfe, and there all thinges be common. But what was in my communication conteyned, that mighte not, and oughte not in anye place to be spoken? Sauynge that to them whyche haue throughlye decreed and determined with them selves to runne hedlonges the contrary waye it can not be acceptable and pleasaunt, because it calleth them backe, and sheweth them the ieopardies, Verilye yf all thynges that euell and vitious maners haue caused to seme inconueniente and noughte should be refused, as thinges vnmete and reprochefull, then we must among Christen people wyne at the moste parte of al those thinges, whych Christ taught vs, and so streitly forbad them to be winked at, yat those thinges also whiche he whispered in ye eares of his disciples he

The Utopia
weale publi-
que

commaunded to be proclaimed in open houes. And yet ye most parte of them is more diffident from the maners of the worlde nowe a dayes, then my communication was. But preachers flie and wlie men followynge youre counsell (as I suppose) because they saw men euell willing to frame theyr manners to Christes rule, they haue wrested and wriede his doctryne, and like a rule of leade haue applyed it to mennes manners: that by some meanes at the leaste waye, they myghte agree together Whereby I can not see what good they haue done: but that men may more sickerlye be euell. And I truelye shoulde preuaile euen as litle in kinges counsellers. For either I muste saye otherwayes then they saye, and then I were as good to saye nothinge, or els I muste saye the same that they saye, and (as Mitio saith in Terence) helpe to further their madnes. For that craftye wyle, and subtil traine of yours, I can not perceaue to what purpose it serueth, wherewith you wolde haue me to study and endeuoure my selfe, yf all thinges can not be made good, yet to handle them wittily and handsomely for the purpose, yat as farre forth as is possible they, may not be very euell. For there is no place to dissemble in, nor to wincke in. Noughtye counsellers muste be openlye allowed and verye pestilent decrees muste be approued. He shalbe counted worse then a spy, yea almoste as euell as a traytour, that with a faynte harte doth prayse euell and noyefome decrees. Moreouer a man canne haue no occasion to doe good, chaunsinge into the companye of them, whych wyl soner peruerte a good man, then be made good them selves: through whose euell company he shalbe marred, or els if he remayne good and innocent, yet the wickednes and follye of others shalbe imputed to hym, and layde in his necke. So that it is impossible with that craftye wyle, and subtil trayne to turne anye thinge to better. Wherefore Plato by a goodlye similitude declareth, why wise men refraine to medle in the common wealthe. For when they see the people swarme into the stretes, and daily wet to the skynne with rayne, and yet can

not perswade them to goe out of the rayne, and to take their houses, knowynge wel, that if they shoulde goe out to them, they should nothinge preuayle, nor wyne ought by it, but with them be wette also in the raine, they do kepe them selves within their houses, being content that they be saffe them selues, seinge they cannot remedye the follye of the people. Howe be it doubtlesse maister More (to speke truelye as my mynde geueth me) where possessions be priuate, where money beareth the all the stroke, it is harde and almoste impossible that there the weale publique maye iustelye be gouerned, and prosperouslye floryshe. Onles you thinke thus: that Iustyce is there executed, where all thinges come into the handes of euell men, or that prosperitie there floryssheth, where all is diuided amonge a fewe: whyche fewe neuerthelesse doe not leade there lues very wealthely, and the refydewe lyue myserablye, wretchedlye, and beggerlye. Wherefore when I consider with my selfe and weye in my mynde the wyse, and godlye ordinaunces of the Utopians, amonge whome with verie fewe lawes all thinges be so wel and wealthely ordered, that vertue is had in pryce and estimation, and yet all thinges beinge there common, euerye man hath aboundaunce of euerye thinge. Againe on the other part, when I compare with them so manye nations euer makinge newe lawes, yet none of them all well and sufficientlye, furnysshed with lawes: where euerye man calleth that he hath gotten, his owne proper and priuate goodes, where so many newe lawes daylye made be not sufficiente for euerye man to enioye, defend, and knowe from an other mans that which he calleth his owne: which thinge the infinite controuerries in the lawe, dayle rysynge, neuer to be ended, playnly declare to be trewe. These thinges (I say) when I consider with me selfe, I holde wel with Plato, and doe nothinge marueille, that he woulde make no lawes for them, that refused those lawes, whereby all men shoulde haue and enioye equall portions of welthes and commodities.

Plato wyll
al things in a
common wealth
to be common

For the wise man did easily foresee, this to bee the one and onely waye to the wealth of a commonaltie, yf equaltie of all thinges should be brought in and stablished. Whiche I thinke is not possible to be obserued, where euery mans gooddes be proper and peculiere to him selfe. For where euery man vnder certeyne tytles and pretences draweth and plucketh to himselfe asmuch as he can, so that a fewe deuide among them selves all the whole riches, be there neuer so muche abundaunce and store, there to the residue is lefte lacke and pouertye. And for the moste parte it chaunceth, that this latter sorte is more worthy to enioy that state of wealth, then the other be: bycause the ryche men be couetous, craftye, and vnprofitable. On the other parte the poore be lowly, simple, and by their dayly labour more profitable to the common welthe then to them selves. Thus I doe fullye perswade me selfe, that no equall and iuste distribution of thinges can be made, nor that perfecte wealth shall euer be among men, onles this propriety be exiled and bannished. But so long as it shal continew, so long shal remaine among the most and best part of men the heuy, and ineuitable burden of pouerty and wretchednes. Whiche, as I graunte that it maye be sumwhat eased, so I vtterly denye that it can wholly be taken away. For if there were a statute made, that no man should possesse aboue a certeine measure of ground, and that no man shoulde haue in his stocke aboue a prescripte and appointed some of money: if it were by certein lawes decreed, that neither the Kinge shoulde be of to greate power, neither the people to haute and wealthy, and that offices shoulde not be obtained by inordinate suite, or by brybes and gyftes: that they shoulde neither be bought nor sold, nor that it shoulde be nedeful for the officers, to be at any cost or charge in their offices: for so occasion is geuen to theym by fraude and raun to gather vp their money againe, and by reason of gyftes and bribes the offices be geuen to rich men, which shoulde rather haue bene

executed of wise men: by such lawes I say, like as sicke bodies that be desperat and past cure, be wont with continual good cherishing to be kept and botched vp for a time: so these euels also might be lightened and mitigated. But yat thei may be perfectly cured, and brought to a good and vpryght state, it is not to be hoped for, whiles euery man is maister of his owne to him selfe. Yea and whyles you goe aboute to doe youre cure of one parte, you shall make bygger the fore of an other parte, so the healpe of one causeth anothers harme: forasmuche as nothinge can be geuen to annye one, onles it be taken from an other

But I am of a contrary opinion (*quod* I) for me thinketh that men shal neuer there liue wealthelye, where all thinges be commen. For howe can there be abundance of gooddes, or of any thing, where euery man withdraweth his hande from labour? Whome the regard of his owne gaines driueth not to worke, but the hope that he hath in other mens trauayles maketh him slowthfull. Then when they be pricked with pouertye, and yet no man can by any lawe or right defend that for his owne, which he hathe gotten with the laboure of his owne handes, shal not there of necessitye be continual sedition and blodshed? Speciallye the authoritie and reuerence of magistrates beinge taken awaye, whiche, what place it maye haue with such men amonge whome is no difference, I cannot deuise.

I maruel not (*quod* he) that you be of this opinion. For you conceaue in youre minde either none at al, or els a verrye false Image and similitude of this thing. But yf you had bene with me in *Utopia*, and had presentelye sene theire fashions and lawes, as I dyd, whyche liued there. v. yeares, and moore, and wolde neuer haue commen thence, but onelye to make that newe lande knowen here: Then doubtles you wolde graunt, that you neuer sawe people wel ordered, but onelye there.

Surely (*quod* maister Peter) it shalbe harde for you to make me beleue, that there is better order in that

newe lande, then is here in these countryes, that wee knowe. For good wittes be awel here as there: and I thinke oure commen wealthes be auncienter than theires: wherein long vse and experience hath found out many thinges commodious for mannes lyfe, besides that manye thinges heare amonge vs haue bene founde by chaunce, which no wytte colde euer haue deuysed.

As touchinge the auncientnes (quod he) of common wealthes, than you might better iudge, if you had red the histories and cronicles of that land, which if we may beleue, cities were there, before men were here. Nowe what thinge foeuer hetherto by witte hath bene deuysed, or found by chaunce, that myght be awel there as here. But I thinke verly, though it were so that we did passe them in witte. yet in study, in trauaile, and in labourfome endeuoure they farre passe vs For (as theire Chronicles testifie) before our arriual there, they neuer hard any thing of vs, whome they cal the vltraequinoctialles: sauing that ones about M CC [twelue hundred] yeares ago, a certeine shyppe was lost by the Ile of Utopia whiche was driuen thether by tempest Certeine Romaines and Egyptians were cast on lande. Whyche after that neuer wente thence Marke now what profite they tooke of this one occasion through delygence and earnest trauaile There was no crafte nor scyence within the impire of Rome wherof any profite could rise, but they either lerned it of these straungers, or els of them taking occasion to searche for it, founde it oute. So greate proffite was it to them that euer anye wente thither from hence. But yf annye like chaunce before this hath brought anye man from thence hether, that is as quyte out of remembraunce, as this also perchaunce in time to come shalbe forgotten, that euer I was there And like as they quickelye, almoste at the first meting, made theire owne, what foeuer is amonge vs wealthelye deuysed: so I suppose it wolde be long before we wolde receaue anythinge, that amonge them is better instituted then amonge vs.

And this I suppose is the chiefe cause whie their common wealthes be wyfelyer gouerned, and doe flounish in more wealth, then ours, though we neither in wytte nor riches be their inferiours.

Therefore gentle Maister Raphael (quod I) I praye you and beseeche you describe vnto vs the Ilande. And study not to be shorte: but declare largely in order their groundes, their ruers, their cities, theire people, theire manners, their ordinaunces, their lawes, and to be short al thinges, that you shal thinke vs desierous to knowe And you shal thinke vs desierous to know what soeuer we knowe not yet.

There is nothing (quod he) that I wil doe gladlier. For all these thinges I haue freshe in mind. But ye matter requireth leasure.

Let vs go in therfore (quod I) to dinner, afterward we wil bestowe the time at our pleasure.

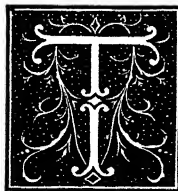
Content (quod he) be it.

So we went in and dyed. When dinner was done, we came into the same place again, and sate vs downe vpon the same benche, commaunding oure seruantes that no man should trouble vs. Then I and Maister Peter Giles desiered maister Raphael to performe his promise. He therefore seing vs desirous and willing to hearken to him, when he had sit stil and paused a litle while, musing and bethinkinge himselfe, thus he began to speake.

The end of the Firste booke.

The seconde booke of the communication of Raphael Hythlodaye, concer- nyng the best state of a common wealth conteyninge the discription of Utopia, with a large Declaration of the poli- tike gouernemente, and of all the good lawes and orders of the same Ilande.

The size and
fashion of the
newe ylande
Utopia



He Iland of Utopia, con-
teynethe in breadthe in
the middell parte of it
(for there it is brodest)
CC. [two hundred]
miles Which bredthe
continueth throughe
the moste parte of the
lande Sauing that by litle and litle it commeth in, and
waxeth narrower towards both the endes. Which fetch-
ing about a circuite or compasse of V.C. [five hundred]
Miles, do fassion ye whole Iland like to ye new mone.
Betwene these two corners the sea runneth in, diuidyng
them a sonder by the distaunce. of. xi miles or there
aboutes, and there surmountethe into a large and wyde
sea, which by reason that the land on euery side com-
passieth it about, and shultreth it from the windes, is not
roughe, nor mounteth not with great waues, but almost
floweth quietlie, not muche vnlike a greate standinge
poule: and maketh welnieghe all the space within the
bellye of the lande in maner of a hauen: and to the
greate commoditie of the inhabitauntes receaueth in

shyppes towardes euerye parte of the lande. The
 forefrontes or frontiers of the. ii. corners, what with
 fordes and shelues, and what with rockes be verye
 ieopardous and daungerous. In the middle dis-
 taunce betwene them bothe standeth vp aboute the
 water a greate rocke, which therefore is nothing peril-
 lous bycause it is in sight. Vpon the top of this rocke
 is a faire and a strong tower builded, which they holde
 with a garrison of men. Other rockes there be lyinge hidde
 vnder the water, which therefore be daungerous. The
 channelles be knowne onely to themselves. And therefore
 it seldome chaunceth that anye straunger oneles he be
 guided by an Utopian can come in to this hauen. In so
 muche that they themselves could skafelye entre with-
 oute ieopardie, but that their way is directed and ruled
 by certaine lande markes standinge on the shore. By
 turninge, translatinge, and removinge thies markes into
 other places they maye destroye their enemies nauies,
 be they neuer so many. The out side or vtter circuite
 of ye land is also ful of hauens, but the landing is so
 fuerly fenced, what by nature, and what by workeman-
 hyp of mans hand, that a fewe defenders maye dryue
 backe many armies. Howbeit as they saye, and as the
 fassion of the place it selfe dothe partely shewe, it was
 not euer compassed about with the sea. But kyng Utopus,
 whose name, as conquerour the Iland beareth (For
 before his tyme it was called Abraxa) which also
 broughte the rude and wild people to that excellent
 perfection in al good fassions, humanitie, and ciuile
 gentilnes, wherin they nowe goe beyond al ye people
 of the world. euen at his firste arriuinge and enteringe
 vpon the lande, furthwith obteynynge the victory, caused
 xv [fifteen] myles space of vplandyne grounde, where
 the sea had no passage, to be cut and dygged vp.

A place naturally fenced
 wether but one garrison

A politique devise in the
 chaunging of land markes

The Ilande of Utopia so named of kyng Utopus

And so brought the sea rounde aboute the lande. He
 fet to this worke not only the inhabitauntes of the

Ilande (becaufe they should not thinke it done in contumelye and despyte) but also all his owne
 Many handes make light worke
 foldiours Thus the worke beyng diuided
 into so greate a nombre of workemen, was

with excedinge maruelous spede dyspatched In so
 muche that the borderers, whiche at the firste began to
 mocke, and to ieste at this vaine enterpryse, then turned
 theire derision to marueyle at the succeffe, and to feare.

Cities in Utopia
 There be in the Ilande. lxxx. [fifty four] large
 and faire cities, or shiere townes, agreyng all
 together in one tonge, in lyke maners, institucions, and
 lawes. They be all set and situate a lyke,
 and in al poyntes fashioned alyke, as farforthe
 as the place or plotte suffereth

A meane distaunce betwene citie and citie
 Of these cities they that be nigheste together be, xxiiii. [twenty four] myles asonder.
 Againe there is none of them distaunte from

the nexte aboute one dayes iorneye a fote. There com
 yearly to Amaurote out of euery cytie. iii. old men wyfe
 and well experienced, there to entreate and debate, of
 the common matters of the land. For this citie (be-
 cause it standeth iuste in the middes of the Ilande, and
 is therefore moste mete for the ambassadours of all
 partes of the realme) is taken for the chiefe and heade
 citie. The precinctes and boundes of the shieres be so

The distribu- tion of landes
 commodiously appoynted oute, and set
 fourthe for the cities, that none of them all
 hath of anye syde lesse then xx. [twenty] myles of grounde,
 and of some syde also muche more, as of that part where

But this now adates is the grounde of all mischeife
 the cities be of farther distaunce asonder.
 None of the cities desire to enlarge the
 boundes and limites of theire shieres. For
 they counte them selves rather the good husbandes, then

Husbandrie and tillage cheifly and principally regarded and aduanced
 the owners of theire landes. They haue in
 the countrey in all partes of the shiere
 houfes or fermes builded, wel appointed
 and furnyshed with all sortes of instrumentes
 and tooles belongynge to husbandrye.

These houfes be inhabited of the citezens, whyche come

thether to dwelle by course. No howsholde or ferme in the countrey hath fewer then. xl [forty] periones men and women, besydes two bondmen, whyche be all vnder the rule and order of the good man, and the good wyfe of the houle, beinge bothe verye sage, discrete, and aunciente periones. And euery. xxx. [thirty] fermes or families haue one heade ruler, whyche is called a Philarche, beinge as it were a head baylyffe. Out of euery one of these families or fermes commeth euerye yeare into the cite. xx. [twenty] periones whiche haue continewed. ij. yeres before in the countrey. In there place so manye freshe be sent thether oute of the cite, whoe, of them that haue bene there a yeare all readye, and be therefore expert and conninge in husbandry, shalbe instructed and taughte. And they the nexte yeare shall teache other. This order is vsed for feare that either skarfenes of victualles, or some other like incommoditie should chaunce, throughe lacke of knowledge. yf they should be altogether newe, and freshe, and vnexpte in husbandrie. This maner and fassion of yearelye chaunginge and renewinge the occupiers of husbandrye, though it be solempne and customablye vsed, to th[e] intent that no man shall be constraigned aganste his wil to contynewe longe in that harde and sharpe kynde of lyfe, yet manye of them haue suche a pleasure and delyte in husbandrye, that they obteyne a longer space of yeares. These husbandmen plowe and til the ground, and breede vp cattel, and prouide and make ready woode, whyche they carrye to the cite either by lande, or by water, as they maye moste conueniently. They brynge vp a greate multitude of pulleyne, and that by a meruaylouse policie. For the hennesdooe not sytte vpon the egges. but by keepynge theym in a certayne equall heate they brynge lyfe into them, and hatche theym. The chyckens, as sone as they be come oute of the shel, follow men and women in steade of the hennes. They brynge vp verye fewe horses. nor none, but very fearece ones: and that for none other vse or purpose, but onelye to

The dueties of
men of husbandrye.

A straunge
fassion in hatchinge and
bringing vp
of pulleyne

The vse of
horses

exercyse their youthe in rydyng and feates of armes.

The vse of Oxen For oxen be put to all the labour of plowing and drawinge. Whiche they graunte to be not so good as horses at a sodeyne brunte, and (as we saye) at a deade lifte, but yet they holde opinion, that oxen wil abide and suffre muche more labour, payne and hardnes, then horses wil. And they thinke that oxen be not in daunger and subiect vnto so many diseases, and that they be kepte and mainteined with muche lesse coste and charge. and finallye that they be good for meate, when they be past labour. They sowe come onelye for breade. For their drinke is eyther wyne made of grapes, or els of apples, or peares, or els it is cleare water. And many times meathe made of honey or licouresse [sodde] in water, for thereof they haue great store. And though they knowe certeynlye (for they knowe it perfectly in dede) how muche vitales the citie wyth the whole countrey or shiere rounde aboute it doeth spende: Yet they sowe muche more come, and bryed vp muche more cattell, then serueth for their owne vse, partyng the ouer plus among their borderers. What soeuer necessarie thinges be lacking in the countrey, all suche stuffe they fetch out of the citie: where without any exchaunge they easelye obteyne it of the magistrates of the citie. For euery moneth manie of them go into the citie on the holye daye When theyr haruest day draweth neare, and is at hande, then the Philarches, which be the head officers and bailifes of husbandrie, send worde to the magistrates of the citie what nombre of haruest men is nedefull to be sent to them oute of the citie The whiche companye of haruest men beyng readye at the daye appoynted, almost in one sayre daye dispatcheth all the haruest worke.

A great discretion in sowing of corne

Mutual helpe quickly dispatched

Of the cities and namely of Amaurote.



AS for their cities, who so knoweth one of them,
 knoweth them all: they be al so like one
 to an other, as farfurthe as the nature of
 the place permitteth. I will describe
 therefore to you one or other of them, for
 it skilleth not greatly which: but which rather then
 Amaurote? Of them all this is the worthiest and of
 most dignitie For the residue knowlege it for the
 head cite, because there is the counsell house. Nor
 to me anye of them all is better beloued, as wherein I
 liued fise whole yeares together. The
 cite of Amaurote standeth vpon the side
 of a lowe hill in fashyon almost foure
 square. For the breadth of it beginneth
 a litle beneth the toppe of the hill, and still continueth
 by ye space of two miles, vntill it come to the ryuer of
 Anyder. The length of it, which lieth by the ryuers
 fyde, is sumwhat more The ruer of Any-
 der riseth four and twentie myles aboue
 Amaurote out of a little springe But
 beyng increased by other smale riuers and broukes
 that runne into it, and amonge other two sumwhat
 bygge ons, before the cite it is half a mile broad,
 and farther broader. And fortie myles beyond the
 cite it falleth into the Ocean sea. By all that space
 that liethe betwene the sea and the cite, and cer-
 ten myles also aboue the cite the water ebbeth and
 floweth fixe houres together with a swift tide. Whan
 the sea floweth in, for the length of thirtie
 miles it filleth all the Anyder with salte
 water, and driueth backe the freshe water
 of the ryuer. And sumwhat further it
 chaungeth the swetenes of the freshe water with saltnes.
 But a litle beyonde that the ruer waxeth swete, and

*The descrip-
 tion of Amau-
 rote the chiefe
 Cite in Uto-
 pia

The descrip-
 tion of the riu-
 er of Anyder

The verie like
 in England in
 the riu-er of
 Thamys

runneth foreby the citie freshe and pleasaunt. And when the sea ebbeth, and goeth backe againe, the freshe water foloweth it almooste euen to the verie fal into the sea. Ther goeth a bridge ouer the ruer made not of piles or of timber, but of stonewarke with gorgious and substantial arches at that part of the citie that is farthest from the sea: to the intent that shippes maye passe alonge forbie all the side of the citie without let. They haue also an other ruer which in dede is not verie great. But it runneth gently and pleasauntly. For it riseth euen oute of the same hill that the citie standeth vpon, and runneth downe a slope through the middes of the citie into Anyder. And because it riseth a litle withoute the citie, the Amaurotians haue inclosed the head springe of it, with stronge fences and bulwarkes, and so haue ioyned it to the citie. This is done to the intente that the water shoulde not be stopped nor turned away, or poysoned, if their enemies should chaunce to come vpon them. From thence the water is derued and conueied downe in cannels of bricke diuers wayes into the lower partes of the citie. Where that cannot be done, by reason that the place wyll not suffer it, there they gather ye raine water in great cisternes, whiche doeth them as good seruice. The citie is compassed aboute with a heighe and thicke stone walle full of turrets and bulwarkes. A drie ditch, but deape, and biode, and ouergrown with bushes, briars, and thornes, goeth aboute thre sides or quarters of the city. To the fourth side the ruer it selfe serueth for a ditch. The stretes be appointed and set furth very commodious and handsome, both for carriage, and also againste the windes. The houses be of faire and gorgious building, and on the strete side they stande ioyned together in a long rowe through the whole streete without any partition or separation. The stretes be twentie foote brode. On the backe side of

Herein also
doeth London
agre with A-
maurote

The vse of
freshe water

The defence of
towne walles

Stretes

Buildinges and
houses.

the houses through the whole length of the streete, lye large gardens inclosed rounde aboute wyth the backe part of the streetes.

To euery dwelling house a garden platte adioyninge.

Euerye house hathe two doores, one into the streete, and a posterne doore on the backsyde into the garden. These doores be made with two leaues, neuer locked nor bolted, so easie to be opened, that they wil followe the least drawing of a fynger, and shutte againe alone. Whoso will, may go in, for there is nothinge within the houses that is priuate, or anie mans owne. And euery tenth

This geere smelleth of Platto his communitie

yeare they chaunge their houses by lot. They set great store by their gardeins. In

them they haue vineyardes, all maner of fruite, herbes, and flowres, so pleasaunt, so well furnished, and so fynely kepte, that I neuer sawe thyng more frutefull, nor better trimmed in anye place.

Their studie and deligence herein commeth not onely of pleasure, but also of a certen strife and contention that is betwene strete

The commoditie of gardens is commended also of Vergile

and strete, concerning the trimming, husbanding, and furnishing of their gardens: euerye man for his owne parte.

And verelye you shall not lightelye finde in all the cite any thinge, that is more commodious, eyther for the profite of the Citizens, or for pleasure. And therefore it maye seme that the first founder of the cite mynded nothing so much, as these gardens. For they saye that kinge Utopus him selfe, euen at the first beginning appointed, and drewe furth the platte fourme of the cite into this fashon and figure that it hath now, but the gallant garnishinge, and the beautifull settinge furth of it, wherunto he sawe that one mannes age would not suffice: that he left to his posteritie. For their cronicles, whiche they kepe written with all deligente circumspection, conteynge the historie of. M. vii. C. lx. [one thousand seven hundred and sixty] yeares, euen from the firste conquest of the Ilande, recorde and witnesse that the houses in the beginning were very low, and like homely cotages or poore sheppard houses, made at all aduen-

tures of euerye rude pece of tymber, that came firste to hande, with mudde walles, and ridged roofes, thatched ouer with strawe. But nowe the houses be curiouslye buylded after a gorgious and gallante sorte, with three storyes one ouer another. The outsidēs of the walles be made either of harde flynte, or of plaster, or els of bricke, and the inner sydes be well strengthened with tymber work. The roofes be plaine and flat, couered with a certen kinde of plaster that is of no coste, and yet so tempered that no fyre can hurt or perishe it, and withstandeth the violence of the wether better then any leade. They kepe the winde oute of their windowes with glasse, for it is ther much vsed, and somhere also with fine linnen cloth dipped in oyle or ambre, and that for two commodities.

Glazed or can-
uased win-
dowes

For by thys meanes more
lighte commeth in, and
the winde is better
kepte oute

¶ Of the magistrates.



A tramibore in
the Utopiane
tonges signifieth
a head or chief
peere

A maruelous
strunge fassi-
on in chusinge
magistrates

Verye thirtie families or fermes, chuefe them yerely an officer, which in their olde language is called the Syphograunte, and by a newer name the Philarche. Euery ten Syphograuntes, with al their thirtie families be vnder an officer which was ones called the Tramibore, nowe the chiefe Philarche. Moreouer as concerninge the election of the Prince, all the Syphograuntes, which be in number. 200. first be sworne to chuese, him whom they thinke moofte mete and expediente. Then by a secrete election, they name prince one of those iij. whome the people before named vnto them. For oute of the. iij. quarters of the citie there be iij chosen, oute of

euery quarter one, to stande for the election : Whiche be put vp to the counsell. The princes office continueth all his life tyme, oneles he be depofed or put downe for fufpition of tyrannie They chuefe the Tranibores

Tyranny in a wel ordered weale publike vtterlie to be abhorred.

yearly, but lightlie they chaunge them not. All the other officers be but for one yeare. The Tranibores euerye thyrde daye, and fumtimes, yf nede be, oftener come into the counsell house with the prince.

Their counsell is concerninge the common wealthe. If there be any controuerfies amonge the commoners, whiche be verye fewe, they difpatch and ende them by and by. They take euer. ij Siphograuntes to them in counfel, and eueri dai a new coupel. And it is prouided, that nothinge touchinge the common wealthe fhallbe confirmed and

Sutes and controuerfies betwene partie and partie further to be ended which now a daies of a set purpose be vnreasonably delayed

ratified, onleffe it haue bene reasoned of and debated thre daies in the counsell, before it be decreed. It is deathe to haue anye confultation for the common wealthe

Against hafte and rash decrees or statutes.

oute of the counsell, or the place of the common election This statute, they faye, was made to the entente, that the prince and Tranibores might not easilye confpire together to opprefse the people by tyrannie, and to chaunge the ftate of the weale publik. Therefore matters of great weight and importance be broughte to the election house of the Siphograuntes, which open the matter to their families. And afterwarde, when they haue confulted amonge themfelues, they fhew their deuife to the counsell Somtime the matter is broughte before the counfel of the whole Ilande. Furthermore this cuftome alfo the counfel vfeth, to difpute or reason of no matter the fame daye that it is firfte propofed or put furthe, but to defferre it to the nexte fyttinge of the counsell. Becaufe that no man when he hath rafhely there fpoken that commeth to his tonges ende, fhall then afterwarde rather ftudye for

A custome worthy to be vsed these daies in our counsels and parliaments

reasons wherewith to defende and mainteine his first folish sentence, than for the commoditie of ye common wealth: as one rather willing the harme or hindraunce of the weale publike then any losse or diminution of his owne exultation. And as one that would be ashamed (which is a very folishe shame) to be counted anye thing at the firste ouersene in the mat-

ter Who at the first ought to haue
spoken rather wyselye,
then hastily, or
rashlye.

¶ Of Sciences, Craftes and Occupations.

Husbandrie
or tillage practi-
sed of all esta-
tes, which now
a dayes is reiect
vnto a fewe of
the basest sort



Vsbandrie is a Science common to them all ingenerall, bothe men and women, wherein they be all experte and cunning. In this they be all instructe euen from their youth. partehe in their scholes with traditions and preceptes, and partlie in the countrey nighe the citie, brought vp as it were in playinge, not onely beholding the vse of it, but by occasion of exercysing their bodies practysing it also Besides husbandrie, whiche (as I saide) is common to them all, euerye one of them learneth one or other feueral and particular science, as his owne proper crafte. That is most commonly either clothworking in wol or flaxe, or masonrie, or the smithes craft, or the carpenters science For there is none other occupation that any number to speake of doth vse there. For their garmentes, which through-
Similitude in
apparrell
oute all the Ilande be of one fashion, (sauynge that there is a difference betwene the mans garmente and the womans, betwene the married and the vnmarried) and this one continueth for

euermore vnchaunged, femely and comelie to the eye, no lette to the mouynge and weldynge of the bodye, also fytte both for wynter and summer: as for these garmentes (I faye) euery familie maketh their owne But of the other forefaide craftes euery man learneth one. And not onely the men, but also the women But the women, as the weaker fort, be put to the easier craftes: as to worke wolle and flaxe The more laborfome sciences be committed to the men. For the mooste part euery man is broughte vp in his fathers crafte. For mooste commonlye they be naturallie therto bente and inclined. But yf a mans minde stande to anye other, he is by adoption put into a familie of that occupation, which he doth most fantasy Whome not onely his father, but also the magistrates do diligently loke to, that he be put to a discrete and an honest householder. Yea, and if anye person, when he hath learned one crafte, be desierous to learne also another, he is likewyse suffred and permitted.

No citizen
without a sci-
ence

To what ocu-
pation euery-
one is natural-
lie inclined
that let him
learne.

When he hath learned bothe, he occupieth whether he wyl: onelesse the citie haue more neade of the one, then of the other. The chiefe and almooste the onelye offyce of the Syphograutes is, to see and take hede, that no manne sit idle. but that euerye one applye hys owne craft with earnest diligence. And yet for all that, not to be wearied from earlie in the morninge, to late in the euenninge, with continuall worke, like labouringe and toylinge beastes.

Idel persones
to be driuen out
of the weale pu-
blique

For this is worfe then the miserable and wretched condition of bondemen Whiche neuertheles is almooste euerye where the lyfe of workemen and artificers, sauing in Utopia For they diuidynge the daye and the nyghte into xxiiii. iuste houres, appointe and assigne onelye fixe of those houres to worke before noone, vpon the whiche they go streighte to diner. and afterdiner, when they haue rested two houres.

A moderation
in the labour
and toyle of ar-
tificers

then they worke iii. houres and vpon that they go to supper. Aboute eyghte of the cloke in the eueninge (countinge one of the clocke at the firste houre after noone) they go to bedde: eyght houres they geue to slepe. All the voide time, that is betwene the houres of worke, slepe, and meate, that they be suffered to bestowe, euery man as he liketh best him selfe. Not to th[e] intent that they shold mispend this time in riote or slouthfulnes: but beyng then licensed from the laboure of their owne occupations, to bestow the time well and thrifte-lye vpon some other science, as shall please them. For it is a solempne custome there, to haue lectures daylye early in the morning, where to be presente they onely be constrained that be namelye chosend and appoynted to learninge. Howbeit a greate multitude of
The studie of
good literature euery sort of people, both men and women go to heare lectures, some one and some an other, as euerye mans nature is inclined. Yet, this notwithstanding, if any man had rather bestowe this time vpon his owne occupation, (as it chaunceth in manye, whose mundes rise not in the contemplation of any science liberall) he is not letted, nor prohibited, but is also prayfed and commended, as profitable to the common
Playing after
supper wealthe. After supper they bestow one houre in playe: in summer in their gardens: in winter in their commen halles. where they dine and suppe There they exercise themselues in musike, or els in honest and wholsome communication Dice-
But now a-
daies diceplay
is the pastime
of princes playe, and suche other folishe and pernicious games they know not. But they vse ij. games not much vnlike the chesse The one is the battell of numbers, wherein one numbre stealeth awaye another The other is wherin vices
fyghte with vertues, as it were in battel array, or a fet fyld. In the which game is verye properlye shewed, both the striffe and discorde that
Plates or ga-
mes also pro-
fitable vices haue amonge themselves, and agayne theire vnitye and concorde agaimste vertues: And also what vices be repugnaunt to what vertues:

with what powre and strength they assaile them openly: by what wiles and subtilty they assaulte them secretlye: with what helpe and aide the vertues resiste, and ouercome the puissaunce of the vices: by what craft they frustrate their purposes. and finally by what sleight or meanes the one getteth the victory. But here least you be deceaued, one thinge you muste looke more narrowly vpon For seinge they bestowe but. vi. houres in woorke, perchaunce you maye thinke that the lacke of some necessarye thinges hereof maye enswee But this is nothinge so For that smal time is not only enough but also to muche for the floore and abundaunce of all thinges, that be requisite, either for the necessitie, or commoditie of life. The which thinge you also shall perceauē, if you weye and consider with your selves how great a parte of the people in other contreis lyueth ydle. First almost all women, whyche be the halfe of the whole numbre: or els if the women be somewhere occupied, there most commonlye in their steade the men be ydle. Besydes this how greate, and how ydle a companye is there of preystes, and religious men, as they cal them? put thereto al ryche men, speciallye all landed men, which comonlye be called gentilmen, and noble men Take into this numbre also their seruantes. I meane all that flocke of stoute bragging rushe bucklers. Ioyne to them also sturdy and valiaunte beggers, clokinge their idle lyfe vnder the coloure of some disease or sickenes And trulye you shal find them much fewer then you thought, by whose labour all these thinges are wrought, that in mens affaires are now daylye vsed and frequented. Nowe consider with youre selfe, of these fewe that doe woorke, how fewe be occupied, in necessarye woorkes. For where money beareth all the swinge, there many wayne and superfluous occupations must nedes be vsed, to serue only for ryotous, superfluite, and vnhonest

The kyndes
and sortes of
ydel people

Women

Priestes and
religious men
Riche men and
landed men

Seruyngmen

Sturdy and
valiaunt
beggers

Wonderfull
wittely spoken.

pleasure. For the same multitude that now is occupied in woork, if they were deuided into so fewe occupations as the necessarye vse of nature requyreth: in so greate plentye of thinges as then or necessity woulde ensue, doubtles the prices wolde be to lytle for the artifycers to maynteyne theire liunges. But yf all these that be nowe busied about vnprofitable occupations, with all the whole flocke of them that lyue ydellye and slouthfullye, whyche consume and waste euerye one of them more of these thinges that come by other mens laboure, then. ij of the workemen themselves doo yf all these (I saye) were sette to profytable occupatyons: you easelye perceauē howe lytle tyme would be enoughe, yea and to muche to stooie vs with all thinges that maye be requisite either for necessitie, or for commoditie, yea or for pleasure, so that the same pleasure be trewe and natural. And this in Utopia the thinge it selfe makethe manifeste and playne. For there in all the citye, with the whole contreye, or shiere adioyning to it scaselye. 500 persons of al ye whole nombre of men and women, that be neither to olde, nor to weake to worke, be licensed and discharged from laboure. Amonge them be the Siphograutes (whoe though they be by the lawes exempte and priuiledged from labour) yet they exempte not themselves. to the intent that they maye the rather by theu example prouoke other to worke. The same vacation from labour do they also enioye, to whome the people perswaded by the commendation of the priestes, and secrete election of the Siphograutes, haue geuen a perpetual licence from labour to learninge. But if any one of them proue not accordinge to the expectation and hoope of him conceaued, he is forthwith plucked backe to the company of artificers. And contrarye wise, often it chaunceth that a handicraftes man doth so earnestly bestowe his vacaunte and spare houres in learninge, and throughe diligence so profyteth therin, that he is taken from his handy occupation, and promoted to the company of the learned. Out of this

Not asmuche
as the magi-
strates liue
idelly

ordre of the learned be chosen ambassadours, priestes, Tranibores, and finallye the prince him selfe. Whome they in their olde tonge call Barzanes, and by a newer name, Adamus. The residewe of the people being neither ydle, nor yet occupied about vnprofitable exercises, it may be easely iudged in how fewe houres how muche good worke by them may be doone and dispatched, towardes those thinges yat I haue spoken of. This commodity they haue also aboue other, yat in the most part of necessarye occupations they neade not so much work, as other nations doe. For first of all ye buildinge or repayinge of houses asketh euerye where so manye mens continual labour, bicause yat the vnthriftie heire suffereth ye houses that his father buylded in contynuaunce of tyme to fall in decay. So that which he myghte haue vpholden wyth lytle coste, hys successoure is constreyned to buylde it agayne a newe, to his great charge. Yea manye tymes also the howse that stode one man in muche moneye, another is of so nyce and so delycate a mynde, that he setteth nothunge by it. And it beyng neglected, and therefore shortelye fallynge into ruyne, he buyldeth vpp another in an other place with no lesse coste and chardge. But amonge the Utopians, where all thinges be sett in a good ordre, and the common wealthe in a good staye, it very feldom chaunceth, that they cheuse a newe plotte to buyld an house vpon. And they doo not only finde spedie and quicke remedies for present faultes: but also preuente them that be like to fall. And by this meanes their houses continewe and laste very longe with litle labour and smal reparations: in so much that this kind of workmen somtimes haue almost nothunge to doo. But that they be commaunded to hewe timbre at home, and to square and trimme vp stones, to the intende that if anye worke chaunce, it may the speedelie rise. Now Syr in their apparell, marke (I praye you) howe few workmen they neade. Fyrste of al, whyles they be at

Only learned men called to offices.

How to auoyd excessive cost in building.

How to lessen the charge in apparell

woorke, they be couered homely with leather or skinnes, that will last. vii. yeares When they go furthe abroad they caste vpon them a cloke, whych hydeth the other homelye apparel These clookes through out the whole Iland be all of one coloure, and that is the natural coloure of the wul. They therefore do not only spend much lesse wullen clothe then is spent in other countreys, but also the same standeth them in much lesse coste But linnen clothe is made with lesse labour, and is therefore hadde more in vse. But in linnen cloth onely whitenesse, in wullen onely clenlynnes is regarded. As for the smalnesse or finenesse of ye threde, that is no thinge passed for And this is the cause wherfore in other places in or v clothe gownes of dyuers coloures, and as manye filke cootes be not enoughe for one man. Yea and yf he be of the delicate and nyse forte. x. [ten] be to fewe whereas there one garment wyl serue a man mooste comenlye. ij. yeares. For whie shoulde he desyre more? seinge yf he had them, he should not be the better hapt or couered from colde, neither in his apparel anye whitt the comlyer. Wherefore, seinge they be all exercysed in profitable occupations, and that fewe artificers in the same craftes be sufficiente, this is the cause that plentye of all thinges beinge among them, they doo sometymes bringe forth an innumerable compaignie of people to amend the hyghe wayes, yf anye be broken. Many times also, when they haue no siche woorke to be occupied aboute, an open proclamation is made, that they shall bestowe fewer houres in worke. For the magistrates doe not exercise their citizens againste their willes in vnneadefull laboures For whie in the institution of that weale publique, this ende is onely and chiefly pretended and mynded, that what time maye possibly be spared from the necessarye ocupacions and affayres of the common wealth, all yat the citizens shoulde withdrawe from the bodely seruice to the free libertye of the minde, and garnishinge of the same. For herein they suppose the felicitye of this liue to consist.

Of theire liuinge and mutual conuersation together.



But nowe wil I declare how the citizens vse them selves one towards another: what familiar occupieng and enterteynement, there is amonge the people, and what fassion they vse in the distribution of euery thing. Firste the city consisteth of families, the families most commonlye be made of kinredes For the women, when they be maryed at a lawefull age, they goo into theire husbandes houses. But the male children, with al the whole male offspringe continewe still in their owne family and be gouerned of the eldest and auncientest father, onles he dote for age: for then the next to him in age, is placed in his rowme. But to th[e] intent ye prescript number of the citezens The numbre of citizens. shoulde neither decrease, nor aboue measure increase, it is ordeined that no familie which in euery citie be vi. thousand in the whole, besydes them of the contrey, shall at ones haue fewer children of the age of. xiii. yeares or there about then. x. or mo then. xvi. for of children vnder this age no numbre can be prescribed or appointed. This measure or numbre is easely obserued and kept, by putting them that in fuller families be aboue the number into families of smaller increase But if chaunce be that in ye whole citie the floore increase aboue the iust number, therewith they fil vp ye lacke of other cities. But if so be yat the multitude throughout the whole Ilande passe and excede the dewe number, then they chuefe out of euery citie certein citezens, and build vp a towne vnder their owne lawes in the next land where the inhabitauntes haue mucche waste and vnoccupied ground, receauing also of the same countrey people to them, if they wil ioyne and dwel with them. They thus ioyning

and dwelling together do easelye agre in one fassion of liuing, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples For they so bringe the matter about by there lawes, that the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is nowe sufficiente and fruteful enoughe for them both. But if the inhabit-auntes of that lande wyl not dwell with them to be ordered by their lawes, then they dryue them out of those boundes which they haue limited, and apointed out for them selues. And if they resiste and rebel, then they make warre agaynst them. For they counte this the moste iuste cause of warre, when anye people holdethe a piece of grounde voyde and vacaunt to no good nor profitable vse, kepyng other from the vse and possession of it, whiche notwithstanding by the lawe of nature ought thereof to be nourysed and relieued If anye chaunce do so muche diminishe the number of any of theire cities, that it cannot be fylled vp agayne, without the diminishynge of the iust numbere of the other cyties (whiche they say chaunced but twyse synce the beginning of the lande throughe a greate pestilente plague) then they fulfyll and make vp the numbere with cytezens fetched out of their owne forreyne townes, for they had rather suffer their forreyne townes to decaye and peryshe, then any cytie of their owne llande to be diminished. But nowe agayne to the conuerfation of

So might we
well be discharged
and eased
of the ydle company
of ser-
uyngmen

the cytezens amonge themselves. The eldeste (as I sayde) rulethe the familye The wyfes bee ministers to their husbandes, the children to their parentes, and to bee shorte the yonger to their elders Euery Cytie is deuided into foure equall partes or quarters. In the myddes of euery quarter there is a market place of all maner of thinges Thether the workes of euery familie be brought into certeyne houses. And euery kynde of thing is layde vp feuerall in bernes or store houses. From hence the father of euery familye, or euery housholder fetchethe whatfoeuer he and his haue neade of, and carieth it away with him without money,

without exchange, without any gage, pawne, or pledge. For whye shoulde any thing be denyed vnto him? seyng there is abundaunce of all thinges, and that it is not to bee feared, lest anye man wyll aske more then he needeth. For whie should it be thoughte that that man woulde aske more then enough, which is fewer neuer to lacke? Certeynely in all kyndes of lyu-

inge creatures either feare of lacke dothe
 cause couetousnes and rauyne, or in man

The cause of
 couetous and
 extortion

only pryde, which counteth it a glorious thinge to passe and excel other in the superfluous and vayne ostentation of thinges. The whyche kynde of vice amonge the Utopians can haue no place. Nexte to the market places that I spake of, stande meate markettes: whether be brought not only all sortes of herbes, and the frutes of trees, with breade, but also fishe, and all maner of. iiii. footed beastes, and wilde foule that be mans meate. But first the fylthynes and ordure therof is clene washed awaye in the renninge ryuer without the cytie in places appoynted mete for the same purpose. From thence the beastes be brought in kylled, and cleane washed by the handes of their bondemen. For they permitte not their frie citezens to accustomethem selves to the killing of beastes, through the vse whereof they thinke, clemencye the gentleste affection of oure nature by lytle and lytle to decaye and peryshe. Neither they suffer anye thinge that is fylthy, lothefom, or vnclenlye, to be broughte into the cytie, least the ayre by the stenche therof infected and corrupte, shoulde cause pestilente diseases. Moreouer euerye strete hath certeyne great large halles sett in equal distaunce one from another, euerye one knowen by a feuerall name. In these halles dwell the Syphograutes. And to euerye one of thesame halles be appoynted xxx. [thirty] families, on either side. xv [fifteen] The stewardest of euerye halle at a certayne houre come in to the meate markettes, where they receyue meate accordinge to the number of their halles.

Of the slaughter of beastes we haue learned manslaughter

Fylth and ordure bring the infection of pestilence into Cyties

Care, diligence
and attendance
about the sicke

But first and chiefe of all respect is had to the sycke, that be cured in the hospitalles. For in the circuite of the cite, a litle without ye walles, they haue. iiii hospitalles, so bigge so wyde, so ample, and so large, that they may seme iiii litle townes, which were deuised of yat bignes partely to th[e] intent the sycke, be they neuer so many in numbere, shuld not lye to thronge or straye, and therfore vneafely, and incommodiouly: and partely that they which were taken and holden with contagious diseases, suche as be wonte by infection to crepe from one to an other, myght be layde apart farre from the company of ye residue These hospitalles be so wel appointed, and with al thinges necessary to health so furnished, and more ouer so diligent attendaunce through the continual presence of cunning phisicians is geuen, that though no man be sent thether against his will, yet notwithstandinge there is no sicke persone in al the cite, that had not rather lye there, then at home in his owne house When the stewart of the sicke hath receiued suche meates as the phisicians haue prescribed, then the beste is equallye deuided among the halles, according to the company of euery one, sauing that there is had a respect to the prince, the byshop, the tranibours, and to ambassadours and all straungers, if there be any, which be verie fewe and feldome. But they also when they be there, haue certeyne feuerall houses apointed and prepared for them To these halles at ye set houres of dinner and supper commeth all the whole Siphograuntie or warde, warned by ye noyse of a brafen trumpet: except suche as be sicke in ye hospitalles, or els in their owne houses. Howbeit no man is prohibited or forbid, after the halles be serued, to fetch home meate out of ye market to his own house, For they knowe that no man wyl doe it without a cause reasonable. For thoughe no man be prohibited to dyne at home, yet no man doth it willyngly: because it is counted a pointe of smal honestie. And also it were a follye to

Every man is
at his libertie
so that nothing
is done by
compulsion

take the payne to dresse a badde diner at home, when they may be welcome to good and fyne fare so neighe hande at the hall. In this hal al vile seruice, all flauery, and drudgerie, with all labourfome toyle, and base busi-nes is done by bondemen. But the women

Women bothe
dresse and serue
the meate

of euery family by course haue the office and charge of cookerie for fethinge and dressinge the meate, and orderinge all thinges thereto belongyng. They sit at three tables or moe, accordinge to the numbere of their company. The men sitte vpon the bench next the wall, and the women againste them on the other side of the table, that yf anye sodeyne euyll should chaunce to them, as many tymes happeneth to women with chyld, they maye rise wythoute trouble or disturbaunce of anye bodie, and go thence into the nurcerie. The nurceis sitte seuerall alone

Nurceis

with theyr younge suckelinges in a certaine parloure appointed and deputed to the same purpose, neuer withoute fire and cleane water, nor yet without cradels, that when they wyll they maye laye downe the younge infantes, and at theyr pleasure take them oute of their swathyng clothes, and holde them to the fire, and refreshe them with playe. Euery mother is nource to her owne childe, onles either death, or sycknes be the let. When that chaunceth, the wiues of the Syphograuntes quykelye prouyde a nource. And that is not harde to be done. For they that can doo

Nothing soner
prouoketh men
to well doying
then praise and
commendation

it, profer themselues to no seruice so gladlye as to that. Because that there thys kinde of pitie is muche prayfed and the chyld that is nourished, euer after taketh his nource for his owne naturall mother. Also amonge the nurceis, fytted all the children that be vnder the age

The education
of yonge chil-
dren

of v yeares. All the other chyldren of bothe kyndes, aswell boyes as girles, that be vnder the age of maryage, do eyther serue at the tables, or els if they be to yonge therto, yet they stand by with maruailous silence. That whiche is geuen to them from the table they eate, and other seuerall

dynner tyme they haue none. The Siphograunte and his wife fitte in the myddes of the high table, forasmuch as that is counted the honorablest place, and becaufe from thence all the whole companie is in their sight. For that table standeth ouer wharte the ouer ende of the hall. To them be ioyned two of the auncientest and eldest. For at euerye table they sit foure at a meesse. But yf there be a church standing in yat Syphograuntie or warde, then the priest and his wife sitteth with the Siphograunt, as chiefe in the company. On both fydes of them sit yonge men, and nexte vnto them againe olde men. And thus through out all the house equall of age be sette together, and yet be mixt and matched with vnequal ages. This, they say, was ordeyned, to the intent that the sage grautie and reuerence of the elders should kepe the yongers from wanton licence of wordes and behauioure. Forasmuch as nothyng can be so secretlye spoken or done at the table, but either they that sit on the one side or on the other muste nedes perceauie it. The dishes be not set down in order from the first place but all the olde men (whose places be marked with some speciall token to be knowen) be first serued of their meate, and then the residue equally. The olde men deuide their, deinties as they think best to the yonger on eche fyde of them.

The yong mix-
ed with their
elders

Olde men re-
garded and re-
uerenced.

Thus the elders be not defrauded of their dewe honoure, and neuerthelesse equall commoditie commeth to euery one. They begin euerye dinner and supper of redinge sumthing yat perteneth to good maners and vertue. But it is shorte, because no man shalbe greued therwith. Hereof th[e] elders take occasion of honest communication, but neither sadde nor vnpleasaunt. Howbeit they do not spende all the whole dinertime themselues with longe and tedious talkes: but they gladly heare also the yonge men. yea, and purposelye prouoke them to talke, to th[e] intent that they may haue

This nowe
a daies is ob-
serued in oure
vniuersities

Talke at the
table

a profe of euery mans wit, and towardnes, or disposition to vertue, which commonlie in the libertie of feasting doth shew and vtter it self. Their diners be verie short: but their suppers be sumwhat longer, because that after dyner foloweth labour, after supper slepe and natural reste, whiche they thinke to be of more strength and efficacie to wholsome and healthfull digestion. No supper is passed without musicke. Nor their bankettes lacke no conceytes nor ionketes. They burne swete gummes and spices or perfumes, and pleasaunt smelles, and sprinckle aboute swete oyntementes and waters, yea, they leaue nothing vndone that maketh for the cheringe of the companie. For they be muche enclined to this opinion: to thinke no kinde of pleasure forbydden, whereof commeth no harme. Thus therfore and after this sort they liue together in the citie, but in the countrey they that dwell alone farre from any neighbour, do dyne and suppe at home in their owne houses. For no familie there lacketh any kinde of victualles, as from whom cometh all that the citezens eate and lyue by.

This is repugnant to the opinion of our phisitions

Musick at the table

Pleasure without harme not commendable.

**¶ Of their iourneyng or
trauayling abroad, with diuers
other matters cunninglye rea-
soned, and wyttilye
discussed.**



BVt if any be desierous to visite either theyr frendes dwelling in an other cite, or to see the place it selfe: they easelie obteyne licence of their Siphograuntes and Trani-bores, onlesse there be some profitable let. No man goeth out alone but a companie is sente furth together with their princes letters, which do testifie that they haue licence to go that iourney, and prescribeth also the day of their retourne. They haue a wageyn geuen them, with a common bondman, which driueth the oxen, and taketh charge of them. But onles they haue women in their companie, they sende home the wageyn againe, as an impediment and a let. And thoughe they carye nothyng furth with them, yet in all their iorney they lack nothing. For wherfoeuer they come, they be at home. If they tary in a place longer then one daye, than there euery one of them falleth to his owne occupation, and be very gentilly entertained of the workemen and companies of the same craftes. If any man of his owne heade and without leaue, walke out of his precinct and boundes, taken without the princes letters, he is broughte againe for a fugitiue or a runaway with great shame and rebuke, and is sharply punished. If he be taken in that fault againe, he is punished with bondage. If anye be desirous to walke abroad into the feldes, or into the countrey yat belongeth to the same cite that he dwelleth in, obteininge the good wil of his father, and the consente of his wife, he is not prohibited. But into what part of ye contrei foeuer he commeth he hath no

meat geuen him vntil he haue wrought out his fore-nones taske, or dispatched so muche work, as there is wont to be wrought before supper. Obseruing this law and condition, he may go whether he wil within the boundes of his own citie. For he shalbe no les profitable to ye citie, then if he were within it. Now you se how litle libertie they haue to loiter: howe they can haue no cloke or pretence to ydlenes.

There be neither winetauernes, nor ale houses, nor stewes, nor anye occasion of vice or wickednes, no lurking corners, no places of wycked counsels or vnlawfull assemblies. But they be in the presente sighte, and vnder the eies of euery man. So that of necessitie they must either apply their accustomed labours, or els recreate themselves with honest and laudable pastimes.

Oholycommon
wealth, and of
Christians to
be folowed.

This fashion and trade of life, being vsed amonge the people, it cannot be chosen, but that they muste of necessitie haue store and plentie of all thinges. And seying they be all therof parteners equallie,

therefore can no man there be poore or nedie. In the counsell of Amaurot, whether, as I said, euery citie sendeth three men a pece yearly, assone as it is perfectly knowen of what thinges there is in euery place plentie, and againe what thinges be skant in any place. incontinent the lacke of the one is perfourmed and filled vp with the aboundaunce of the other. And this they do frely without anye benefite, taking nothing againe of them,

Equalitie is
the cause that
euery man hath
enoughe

to whom ye thinges is guen, but those citie that haue geuen of their store to any other citie that lacketh, requiring nothing againe of ye same citie, do take suche thinges as they lacke of an other citie, to the which they gaue nothinge. So the whole ylande is as it were one familie, or housholde. But when they haue made sufficient prouision of store for themselves (which they thinke not done, vntil they haue prouided for two yeres folowinge, because of the vncertentie of the next yeres

A common
wealthe is no
thing elles but
a great house-
hold

proffe) then of those thinges, wherof they haue abundaunce, they carie furth into other countreis great

The traffique
and marchaundise
of the Utopians

plentie : as grayne, honnie, wulle, flaxe, woode, madder, purple died felles, waxe, tallowe, lether, and lyunge beastes. And the feuenth parte of all these thynges they geue franckelye and frelie to the pore of that countrey.

The residewe they sell at a reasonable and meane price. By this trade of traffique or marchaundise, they bring into their own contrey, not only great plenty of golde and siluer, but also all fuche thynges as they lacke at home, whiche is almoste nothinge but Iron. And by reason they haue longe vsed this trade, nowe they haue more abundaunce of these thinges, then anye man wyll beleue. Nowe therfore they care not whether they sell for readye money, or els vpon truste to be payed at a daye, and to haue the mooste parte in debtes.

In all thinges
and aboue all
thinges to their
communitie they
haue an eye

But in so doyng they neuer followe the credence of priuat men but the assuraunce or warrauntise of the whole citie, by instrumentes and writings made in that behalfe accordingly. When the daye of paiement is come and expired, the citie gathereth vp the debte of the priuate debtoines, and putteth it into the common boxe, and so longe hathe the vse and profite of it, vntill the Vtopians their creditours demaunde it. The mooste parte

By what policie
money may
be in lesse estimation

of it they neuer aske. For that thyng whiche is to them no profite to take it from other, to whom it is profitable : they thinke it no righte nor conscience. But if the case so stand, that they must lende part of that money to an other people, then they require theyr debte : or when they haue warre. For the whiche purpose onelye they kepe at home all the treasure, whiche they haue, to be holpen and focoured by it either in extreame ieopardyes, or in suddaine daungers. But especiallye and chiefele to hiere therewith, and that for vnreasonable greate wayges, straunge soldiours. For they hadde rather put straungers in

ieopardie, then theyr owne countreyemen: knowynge that for money ynoughe, their enemyes themfelues many times may be boughte or folde, or elles through treafon be sette togethers by the eares amonge themfelues For this cause they kepe an inestimable treasure. But yet not as a treasure · but so they haue it, and vse it, as in good faythe I am ashamed to shewe fearinge that my woordes shall not be beleued And this I haue more cause to feare, for that I knowe howe difficulte and hardelye I myselfe would haue beleued an other man tellinge the same, if I hadde not presentlye sene it with mine owne eyes.

It is better either with money or by pollicie to avoyde warre, then with muche losse of mans blood to fight

O fine wytte

For it muste neades be, that howe farre a thyng is diffonaunt and disagreing from the guise and trade of the hearers, so farre shall it be out of their belefe Howebeit, a wise and indifferent estimer of thynges, will not greatlye marueill perchaunce, seyng all theyr other lawes and customes do so muche differre from oures, yf the vse also of gold and syluer amonge them be applied, rather to their owne fashyons, than to oures. I meane in that they occupie not money themfelues, but kepe it for that chaunce, whiche as it maye happen, so it maye be, that it shall neuer come to passe In the meane time golde and syluer, whereof money is made, they do so vse, as none of them doethe more esteeme it, then the verye nature of the thing deserueth. And then who doeth not playnelye se howe farre it is vnder Iron: as without the whiche men can no better lyue then without fiere and water. Whereas to golde and siluer nature hath geuen no vse, that we may not well lacke: if that the follye of men hadde not sette it in higher estimation for the rarenesse sake But of the contrane parte, nature as a mooste tender and louynge mother, hath placed the beste and mooste necessarie thynges open abroade. as the ayere, the water, and the yearth it selfe. And hath remoued and hyd far-

Golde worse then yron as touchyng the necessarie vse therof

theft from vs vayne and vnprofitable things. Therefore if these metalles amonge them shoulde be faste locked vp in some tower, it might be suspected, that the prince and the counsell (as the people is euer foolishhelie ymagininge) intended by some subtiltie to deceaue the commons, and to take some profite of it to themselues. Furthermore if they shold make therof plate and such other finelie and cunninglie wroughte stuffe if at anye time they should haue occasion to breake it: and melte it againe, therewith to paye their souldiers wages, they see and perceaue verie well, that men woulde be lothe to parte from those things, that they ones begonne to haue pleasure and delite in. To remedie all this they haue founde oute a meanes, whiche, as it is agreable to all their other lawes and customes, so it is from ours, where golde is so much fet by, and so diligently kept, very farre discripant and repugnant: and therefore vncredible, but onelye to them that be wise For where as they eate and drinke in earthen and glasse vesselles, whiche in dede be curiouslye and properlye made, and yet be of very small value. of golde and syluer they make commonly chaumber pottes, and other vesselles, that serue for moste vile vses, not onely in their common halles, but in euery mans pruate house. Furthermore of the same mettalles they make greate chaines, fetters, and grieues wherin the[y] tie their bondmen Finally whosoeuer for anye offense be infamed, by their eares hange rynges of golde: vpon their fyngers they weare rynges of golde, and aboute their neckes chaines of golde and in conclusion their heades be tied aboute with gold. Thus by al meanes possible they procure to haue golde and siluer among them in reproche and infamie And these mettalles, which other nations do as greuoufly and sorowefullye forgo, as in a manner their owne liues. if they should altogether at ones be taken from the Utopians, no man there would thinke that he had lost the worth of one farthing They ga-

O wonderfull
contumelie of
golde

Golde the re-
prochful badge
of infamed per-
sons

ther also pearles by the sea side, and Diamondes and carbuncles vpon certen rockes, and yet they seke not for them: but by chaunce finding them, they cut and polish them And therwith thei deck their yonge infauntes. Whiche like as in the first yeres of their childhod, they make muche and be fonde and proude of such ornamentes, so when they be a litle more

Gemmes and
precious stones,
toyes for
yonge children
to playe with-
all

growen in yeares and discretion, perceiuing that none but children do weare such toyes and trifels: they lay them awaye euen of their owne shamefastenesse, wythoute anye byddyng of their parentes: euen as oure chyl dren, when they waxe bygge, doo caste awaye nuttes, brouches, and puppettes. Therfore these lawes and customes, whiche be so farre differente from al other nations, howe diuers fantasies alio and myndes they doo cause, dydde I neuer so playnelie perceauē, as in the Ambassadours of the Anemolians.

These Ambassadoures came to Amaurote whiles I was there. And because they came to entreate of great and weightie matters, those three citizens a pece oute of euerie citie were comen thether before them. But all the Ambassadours of the nexte countreis, whiche had bene there before, and knewe the fashions and maners of the Utopians, amonge whom they perceaued no honoure geuen to sumptuous apparell, filkes to be contemned, golde also to be infamed and reprochful, were wont to come thether in verie homelye and simple araie. But the Anemolians because they dwell farre thence, and had very litle a[c]quaintaunce with them: hearinge that they were all appparelled a like, and that verie rudely and homely: thinkinge them not to haue the thinges whiche they did not weare: being therfore more proude, then wise: determyned in the gorgiounes of their apparel to represente verie goddes, and wyth the brighte shyninge and glisteringe of their gay clothing to dasell the eyes of the filie poore Utopians. So there came in. iii. Ambassadours with. c. [an hundred] seruantes all appparelled in

A very plea-
saunt tale

chaungeable colours the moſte of them in ſilkes the Ambaſſadours themſelves (for at home in their owne countrey they were noble men) in cloth of gold, with great cheines of gold, with golde hanginge at their eares, with gold ringes upon their fingers, with brouches and aglettes of gold vpon their cappes, which glistered full of peerles and precious ſtones: to be ſhort trimmed, and adourned with al thoſe thinges, which among the Utopians were either the puniſhment of bondmen, or the reproche of infamed perſones, or elles triſels for yonge children to playe withal. Therefore it wolde haue done a man good at his harte to haue ſene howe proudelye they diſpleyed their peacockes fethers, howe muche they made of their paynted ſheathes, and howe loftely they ſet forth and aduaunced them ſelves, when they compared their gallaunte apparrell with the poore rayment of the Utopians. For al the people were ſwarmed forth into the ſtretes. And on the other ſide it was no leſſe pleaſure to conſider howe muche they were deceaued, and how farre they miſſed of their purpoſe being contrary wayes taken, then they thought they ſhould haue bene. For to the eyes of all the Utopians, excepte very fewe, which had bene in other countreys for ſome reſonable cauſe, al that gorgeouſnes of apparrel ſeemed ſhamefull and reprocheſul. In ſo muche that they moſt reuerently ſaluted the vileſt and moſt abiect of them for lordes: paſſing ouer the Ambaſſadours themſelves without any honour iudging them by their wearing of golden cheynes to be bondmen. Yea you ſhoulde haue ſene children alſo, that had caſte away their peerles and pretious ſtones, when they ſawe the like ſticking vpon the Ambaſſadours cappes: digge and puſhe their mothers vnder the ſides, ſainge thus to them Loke mother how great a lubbor doth yet were peerles and precious ſtoones, as though he were a litel child ſtil But the mother, yea and that alſo in good earneſt: peace ſone, ſaith ſhe: I thinke he be ſome of the Ambaſſadours fooles. Some founde faulte at their

O wittie head

golden cheines, as to no vse nor purpose, being so smal and weake, that a bondeman might easely breake them, and agayne so wyde and large, that when it pleased him, he myght cast them of, and runne awaye at libertye whether he woulde. But when the Ambassadors hadde bene there a daye or. ii. and sawe so greate abundaunce of gold so lyghtely esteimed, yea in no lesse reproche, then it was with them in honour: and besides that more golde in the cheines and gieues of one fugitiue bondman, then all the costelye ornamentes of them. iii. was worth they beganne to abate their courage, and for very shame layde away al that goryouse arraye, whereof they were so proud. And specially when they had talked familiarlye with the Utopians, and had learned al their fassions and opinions.

For they marueyle that any men be so folye, as to haue delite and pleasure in the doubtful glisteringe of a lytil tryffelynge stone, which maye beholde annye of the starres, or elles the sonne it selfe. Or that anye man is so madde, as to count him selfe the nobler for the smaller or fyner threde of wolle, which selfe same wol (be it now in neuer so fyne a sponne threde) a shepe did ones weare: and yet was she all that time no other thing then a shepe. They marueile also that golde, whych of the owne nature is a thinge so vnprofytable, is nowe amonge all people in so hyghe estimation, that man him selfe, by whome, yea and for the vse of whome it is so much set by, is in muche lesse estimation, then the golde it selfe. In so muche that a lumpy she blockehedded churle, and whyche hathe no more wytte then an asse, yea and as ful of noughtynes as of follye, shall haue neuertheles manye wyfe and good men in subiectyon and bondage, only for this, bycause he hath a greate heape of golde. Whyche yf it shoulde be taken from hym by anye fortune, or by some subtyll wyle and cautele of the lawe, (whyche no lesse then fortune dothe bothe raise vp the lowe, and plucke

Doubtful he calleth it, either in consideration and respecte of counterfete stones, or elles he calleth doubtful very littel worthe

A true saing and a witte

downe the highe) and be geuen to the moſte vile ſlaue and abiect dryuell of all his houſholde, then ſhortely after he ſhal goo into the ſeruiſe of his ſeruaunt, as an augmentation nor ouerplus beſide his money. But they

Howe muche
more witte is
in the heades
of the Utopi-
anes then of the
common ſorte
of chriſtians

muche more maruell at and deteſt the madnes of them, whyche to thoſe riche men, in whoſe debte and daunger they be not do giue almoſt diuine honoures, for none other conſideration, but becauſe they be riche and yet knowing them to bee ſuche nighe penny fathers, that they be ſure as longe as they liue, not the worthe of one farthinge of that heape of gold ſhall come to them.

Theſe and ſuch like opinions haue they conceaued, partly by education, beinge brought vp in that common wealth, whoſe lawes and cuſtomes be farre different from theſe kindes of folly, and partly by good litterature and learning. For though there be not many in euery citie, which be exempte and diſcharged of all other laboures, and appointed only to learning, that is to ſaye: ſuche in whome euen from their very childhode they haue perceaued a ſingular towardnes, a fyne witte, and a minde apte to good learning yet all in their childhode be inſtructe in learninge And the better parte of the people, bothe men and women throughe oute all their whole lyffe doo beſtowe in learninge thoſe ſpare houres, which we ſayde

The ſtudies
and literature
amonge the
Utopianes.

they haue vacante from bodelye laboures. They be taughte learninge in their owne natyue tong For it is bothe copious in wordes, and alſo pleaſaunte to the eare: and for the vtteraunce of a mans minde very perfecte and ſure. The moſte parte of all that fyde of the worlde vſeth the ſame langage, ſauinge that amonge the Utopians it is fyneſte and pureſte, and accordinge to the diuerſytye of the countreys it is dyuerſlye alterede. Of all theſe Philoſophers, whoſe names be heare famous in this parte of the worlde to vs knowne, before oure cummyng thether not aſmuch as the ſame of annye of

them was cumen amonge them. And yet in Musike, Logike, Arythmetyke, and Geometrye they haue founde oute in a manner all that oure auncient Philosophers haue tawghte But as they in all thinges be almoste equal to oure olde auncyente clerkes, so oure newe Logiciens in subtyl inuentions haue farre passed and gone beyonde them. For they haue not deuysed one of all those rules of restrictions, amplifications and suppositions, verye wittelye inuented in the small Logicalles, whyche heare oure children in euery place do learne. Furthermore they were neuer yet hable to fynde out the seconde intentions: insomuche that none of them all coulde euer see man himselfe in comen, as they cal him, thoughe he be (as you knowe) bygger than euer was annye gyaunte, yea and poynted to of vs euen wyth our fynger. But they be in the course of the starres, and the mouynges of the heauenly sphares verye expert and cunnyng. They haue also wittely excogitated and diuised instrumentes of diuers fassions: wherein is exactly comprehended and conteyned the mouynges and situations of the sonne, the mone, and of al the other starres, which appere in theire horizon. But as for the amityes and diffentions of the planettes, and all that deceyteful diuination by the starres, they neuer asmuch as dreamed thereof. Raynes, windes, and other courses of tempestes they knowe before by certeine tokens, which they haue learned by long vse and obseruation. But of the causes of al these thinges and of the ebbinge, flowinge, and saltenes of the sea, and finallye of the original begynnynge and nature of heauen and of the worlde, they holde partelye the same opinions that oure olde Philosophers hold, and partely, as our Philosophers varye among themselves, so they also, whiles they bringe newe reasons of thinges, do disagree from all them, and yet among themselves in all poyntes they doe not accorde. In that part of Phi-

Musike
Logike
Arithemetike
Geometrie

In this place
semeithe to be a
nipping taunte

Astronomie

Yet amonge
christians this
geere is highl
estimated thes
daies

they haue

Naturall phi-
losophie is a
knowledge
most vncertain.

Moral philosophie. losophie, which intreateth of manners and vertue, their reasons and opinions agree with ours. They dispute of the good qualities of the soule, of the body, and of fortune. And whether the name of goodnes maye be applyed to all these, or onlye to the endowments and giftes of the soule

The reason of vertue and pleasure. But the chiefe and principall question is in what thinge, be it one or moe, the felicitye of man consisteth. But in this poynte they seme al-

The Utopians holde opinion that felicitye consisteth in honest pleasure. mooste to muche geuen and enclined to the opinion of them, which defende pleasure, wherein they determine either all or the chieffeste parte of mans felicitye to rest. And (whyche is more to bee marueled at)

the defense of this foo deyntye and delicate an opinion, they fetchen euen from their graue, sharpe, bytter, and rigorous religion. For they neuer dispute

The principles of philosophie grounded vpon religion. of felicity or blessednes, but they ioyne vnto the reasons of Philosophie certeyne principles taken oute of religion: wythoute the whyche to the inuestigation of trewe felicitye they thynke reason

The theologie of the Utopians. of it selfe weake and vnperfecte. Those principles be these and such lyke. That the soule is immortal: and by ye bountifull

The immortalitye of the soule, wherof these dayes certeyne Christians be in doubt. goodnes of God ordeined to felicitie. That to our vertues and good deades rewardes be appointed after this life, and to our euell deades punishmentes. Though these be

perteyning to religion, yet they thincke it mete that they shoulde beleue and graunted by professe of reason. But yf these principles were condempned and dysannulled, then without anye delaye they pronounce no man to be so foolish, whiche woulde not do all his diligence and endeuoure to obteyne pleasure be ryght or wronge, onlye auoydyinge this inconuenience, that the lesse pleasure should not be a let or hinderaunce to the bigger: or that he laboured not for that

pleasure, whiche would bunge after it displeasure, greefe, and sorrow. For they iudge it extreame madnes to folowe sharpe and painful vertue, and not only to bannishe ye pleasure of life, but also willingly to suffer griepe, without anye hope of profit thereof ensuinge. For what profit can there be, if a man, when he hath passed ouer all his lyfe vnpleasauntly, that is to say, miserablye, shall haue no rewarde after his death? But nowe fyr they thinke not felicitie to reste in all pleasure, but only in that pleasure that is good and honeste, and that hereto, as to perfet blessednes our nature is allured and drawen euen of vertue, whereto onlye they that be of the contrary opinion do attribute felicitie. For they define vertue to be life ordered according to nature, and that we be here vnto ordeined of god. And that he dothe followe the course of nature, which in desiering and reiusinge thinges is ruled by reason. Furthermore that reason doth chiefly and principallye kindle in men the loue and veneration of the deuine maiestie. Of whose goodnes it is that we be, and that we be in possibilitie to attayne felicitie. And that secondarely it bothe surrethe and prouoketh vs to leade our lyfe oute of care in ioy and mirth, and also mouetr vs to helpe and further all other in respecte of ye societe of nature to obtaine and enioye ye same. For there was neuer man so earnest and painful a follower of vertue and hater of pleasure, yat wold so inioyne you laboures, watchinges, and fastinges, but he would also exhort you to ease, lighten, and relieue, to your powre, ye lack and misery of others, praying the same as a dede of humanitie, and pitie. Then if it be a poynte of humanitie for man to bring health and comforte to man, and speciallye (which is a vertue moste peculiarie belonging to man) to mitigate and assuage the greife of others, and by takyng from them the sorowe and heuyenes of lyfe, to restore them to ioye, that is to saye to pleasure. whie maye it not then be sayd, that nature

As every pleasure ought not to be inhaunted so greife is not to be pursued but for vertues sake

In this definition of vertue they agre with the Stoicians

The worke and effects of reason in man

doth prouoke euerye man to doo the same to himselfe?
 For a ioyfull lyfe, that is to say, a pleasaunt
 lyfe is either euel: and if it be so, then thou
 shouldest not onely helpe no man therto,
 but rather, as much as in the lieth, with-
 drawe all men frome it, as noysome and hurte-
 ful, or els if thou not only mayste, but also
 of dewty art bound to procure it to others,
 why not chiefly to the selfe? To whome
 thou art bound to shewe asmuch fauoure and
 gentelnes as to other. For when nature
 biddeth the to be good and gentle to other
 she commaundeth the not to be cruell
 and vngentle to the selfe. Therefore euen
 very nature (saye they) prescribeth to vs a
 ioyful lyfe, that is to say, pleasure as the
 ende of all oure operations. And they define vertue
 to be lyfe ordered accordynge to the prescripte of
 nature. But in that that nature dothe allure and pro-
 uoke men one to healepe another to lyue merly
 (which fuerly she doth not without a good cause:
 for no man is so farre aboue the lotte of mans state
 or condicion, that nature dothe carke and care for hym
 onely, whiche equallye fauoureth the all, that be compre-
 hended vnder the communion of one shape forme
 and fassion) verely she commaundeth the to vse dili-
 gent circumspection, that thou do not so seke for thine
 owne commodities, that thou procure others incom-
 modities. Wherefore their opinion is, that not only
 couenauntes and bargaynes made amonge
 priuate men ought to be well and saythe-
 fullye fulfilled, obserued, and kepte, but also commen
 lawes, whiche either a good prince hath iustly pub-
 lyshed, or els the people neither oppressed with tyran-
 nye, neither deceaued by fraude and gyell, hath by
 their common consent constituted and ratified, con-
 cerninge the particion of the commodities of lyfe, that
 is to say, the matter of pleasure. These lawes not off-
 ended, it is wysdome, that thou looke to thine own

But nowe a
 daies some ther
 bee that wyl-
 lingly procure
 vnto themsel-
 ues painefull
 griefes, as
 though they
 rested some
 highe pointe
 of religion,
 whereas rather
 they religiously
 disposed per-
 son, yf they hap-
 pen to him either
 by chaunce or
 elles by natu-
 rall necessitie,
 ought patient-
 ly to receaue
 and suffer them

Bargaynes and
 Lawes

wealth. And to doe the same for the common wealth
 is no lesse then thy duetie, if thou bearest any reuerent
 loue, or any naturall zeale and affection to thy natue
 countrey. But to go about to let an other man of his
 pleasure, whiles thou procurest thine owne, that is open
 wrong. Contrary wyse to withdrawe somethinge from
 the selfe to geue to other, that is a pointe of humanitie
 and gentilnes: whiche neuer taketh awaye so muche
 commoditie, as it bringethe agayne For it is recom-
 pensed with the retourne of benefytes, and The mutual re-
course of kind-
nes
 the conscience of the good dede, with the
 remembraunce of the thankefull loue and
 beneuolence of them to whom thou hast done it, doth
 bringe more pleasure to thy mynde, then that whiche
 thou hast withholden from thy selfe could haue brought
 to thy bodye Finallye (which to a godly disposed and
 a religious mind is easy to be perswaded) God recom-
 penseth the gifte of a short and smal pleasure with great
 and euerlastinge ioye Therefore the matter diligently
 weyede and considered, thus they thinke, that all our
 actions, and in them the vertues themselves be referred
 at the last to pleasure, as their ende and felicitie Plea-
 sure they call euery motion and state of the The definition
of Pleasure
 bodie or mynde, wherein man hath naturally
 delectation Appetite they ioyne to nature, and that
 not without a good cause For like as, not, only the
 senses, but also right reason coueteth whatsoeuer is natu-
 rally pleasaunt, for yat it may be gotten without wrong
 or iniurie, not letting or debarring a greater pleasure,
 nor causing painfull labour, euen so those things that
 men by vaine ymagination do sayne against nature to
 be pleasaunt (as though it laye in their
 power to chaunge ye things, as they do False and coun-
terfeate pleas-
ures
 ye names of thinges) al suche pleasures
 they beleue to be of so small helpe and furtheraunce
 to felicitie, that they counte them a great let and hin-
 deraunce Because that in whom they haue ones taken
 place, all his mynde they possesse with a false opinion
 of pleasure. So that there is no place left for true and

naturall delectations. For there be many thinges, which of their owne nature conteyne no plesantnes: yea the moste parte of them muche grieffe and sorrowe. And yet throughe the peruerse and malicyous flickeringe inticementes of lewde and vnhoneste desyres, be taken not only for speciall and souereigne pleasures, but also be counted amonge the chiefe causes of life. In this counterfeate kinde of pleasure they put them that

The error of them that esteeme themselves the more for apparels sake I spake of before Whiche the better gownes they haue on, the better men they thinke them selves. In the which thing they doo twyfe erre. For they be no lesse deceaued in that they thinke their gowne the better, than they be, in that they thinke themselves the better For if you consider the profitable vse of the garmente, whye should wulle of a fyner sponne threde, be thoug[h]t better, than the wul of a course sponne threde? Yet they, as though the one did passe the other by nature, and not by their mistakyng, auance themselves, and thinke the price of their owne persones thereby greatly encreased And therefore the honour, which in a course gowne they durste not haue looked for, they require, as it were of dewtie, for their fyner gownes sake. And if they be passed by without reuerence, they take it displeasauntly and disdainfullye.

Folish honore And agayne is it not lyke madnes to take a pryde in vayne and vnprofitable honours? For what naturall or trewe pleasure doest thou take of an other mans bare hede, or bowed knees? Will this ease the paine of thy knees, or remedie the phrensie of thy hede? In this ymage of counterfeite pleasure, they be of a maruelous madnesse, whiche for the opinion of nobilitie, reioyse muche in their owne conceyte. Be-
Vaine nobilitie cause it was their fortune to come of suche auncetoures, whose stocke of longe tyme hath bene counted ryche (for nowe nobilitie is nothing elles) speciallye riche in landes And though their auncetours left them not one foote of lande, or els they themselues haue pyssed it agaynst the walles, yet

they thinke themselves not the lesse noble therfore of one heare. In this number also they counte them that

take pleasure and delite (as I said) in gemmes and precious stones, and thynke them

Pleasure in precious stones most foolish.

selues almoste goddesses, if they chaunce to

gette an excellent one, speciallye of that kynde, whiche

in that tyme of their own countre men, is had in hyghest estimation. For one kynde

The opinion and fansie of people doeth augment and diminish the price and estimation of precious stones

of stone kepeth not his pryce styll in all

countreys, and at all times Nor they bye

them not, but taken out of the golde, and

bare no nor so neither, vntyll they haue

made the feller to sweare, that he will waiaunte and as-

sure it to be a true stone, and no counterfeite gemme.

Suche care they take lest a counterfeite stone should

deceauue their eyes in steade of a ryghte stone. But

why shouldest thou not take euen asmuche pleasure in

beholdynge a counterfeite stone, whiche thine eye can-

not discerne from a righte stone? They

shoulde bothe be of lyke value to thee,

Beholders of treasure, not occupieng the same

euen as to the blynde man. What shall I

faye of them, that kepe superfluous riches,

to take delectation only in the beholdinge, and not in

the vse or occupiynge thereof? Do they take trew

pleasure, or elles be they deceaued with false pleasure?

Or of them that be in a contrarie vice,

Hyders of treasure.

hidinge the gold whiche they shall neuer

occupye, nor peraduenture neuer se more? And whiles

they take care leaste they shall leese it, do leese it in dede.

For what is it elles, when they hyde it in the ground,

takyng it bothe from their owne vse, and perchaunce

frome all other mennes also? And yet thou, when thou

hast hydde thy treasure, as one out of all

A prettie fiction and a witte

care, hoppest for ioye. The whiche trea-

sure, yf it shoulde chaunce to bee stolen. and thou igno-

raunt of the thefte shouldest dye tenne years after. all

that tenne yeares space that thou lyuedest after thy

money was stolen, what matter was it to thee, whether

it hadde bene taken awaye or elles safe as thou leste

it? Trewlye both wayes like profytte came to thee. To these fo foolyſhe pleasures they ioyne dicers, whose madneſſe they knowe by hearſay, and not Dice playe by uſe. Huntreis alſo, and hawkers. For what pleasure is there (ſay they) in caſtinge the dice vpon a table. Which thou haſt done ſo often, that if there wer any pleasure in it, yet the oft uſe might make thee werie thereof? Or what delite can Huntunge and hawkinge there be, and not rather dyspleaſure in hearynge the barkynge and howlynge of dogges? Or what greater pleasure is there to be felte, when a dogge followeth an hare, then when a dogge followeth a dogge? for one thinge is done in bothe, that is to ſaye, runnyng, yf thou haſte pleaſure therein. But yf the hope of ſlaughter, and the expectation of tearynge in peces the beaſte doth pleaſe thee thou ſhouldeſt rather be moued with pitie to ſee a felye innocente hare murdered of a dogge: the weake of the ſtronger, the fearefull of the feare, the innocente of the cruell and vnmercyfull.

Hunting the Therefore all thys exercyſe of huntynge, as beaſt parte of a thyng vnworthy to be uſed of free men, bouchers among the Utopians, haue reiected to their bouchers to the wtiche craſte (as we ſayde before) they appointe their bondemen. For and yet this is nowe the exerciſe of moſt noble men they counte huntynge the loweſt, the vyleſte, and moſte abiecte part of bouchene, and the other partes of it more profitable, and more honeſte, as bryngynge muche more commoditie, in that they kyll beaſtes onely for neceſſitie. Where as the hunter ſeketh nothinge but pleaſure of the feelye and wofull beaſtes ſlaughter and murder. The whiche pleaſure in beholdynge deathe, they thinke doeth riſe in the very beaſtes, either of a cruel affection of mind, or els to be chaunged in continuaunce of time into crueltye, by longe uſe of ſo cruell a pleaſure. Theſe therfore and all ſuche like, whiche be innumerable, though the common ſorte of people doth take them for pleaſures, yet they, ſeing there is no natural pleaſauntneſſe in them, do playnly determine them to haue no affinitye with trew and right

pleasure. For as touchinge that they do commonlye moue the sense with delectation (whiche seemeth to be a worke of pleasure) this doeth nothyng diminishe their opinion. For not the nature of the thing, but their peruerse and lewde custome is the cause hereof. Whiche causeth them to accept bitter or sowre thynges for swete thynges. Euen as women with child in their viciate and corrupte taste, thynke pytche and tallowe sweter then any honey. Howbeit no mannes iudgemente depraued and corrupte, either by syckenes, or by custome, can chaunge the nature of pleasure, more then it can do the nature of other thinges. They make diuers kindes of pleasures. For some The kindes of trew pleasures they attribute to the soule, and some to the body. To the soule they geue intelligence, and that delectation, that commeth of the contemplation of trewth. Hereunto is ioyned the pleasaunte remembraunce of the good lyfe past. The The pleasures of the bodye pleasure of the bodye they deuide into ii. partes. The first is when delectation is sensibly felt and perceaued. Whiche many times chaunceth by the renewing and refreshing of those partes, whiche oure naturall heate drieth vp. This commeth by meate and drynke. And sometymes whyles those thynges be expulsed, and voyded, wherof is in the body ouer great abundaunce. This pleasure is felt, when we do our natural easement, or when we be doying the acte of generation, or when the ytching of any part is eased with rubbing or scratchyng. Sometimes pleasure riseth exhibitinge to any membre nothyng that it desireth, nor takyng from it any paine that it feeleth, which neuerthelesse tikleth and moueth oure senses wyth a certeine secrete efficacie, but with a manifest motion turnethe them to it. As is that whiche commeth of musicke. The seconde parte of bodely pleasure they say, is that which consisteth and resteth in the quiete, and vpryghte state Bodily health of the bodye. And that trewlye is euery mannes owne propre health entermingled and dis-

turbed with no griefe For this, yf it be not letted nor assaulted with no grief, is delectable of it selfe, though it be moued with no externall or outward pleasure. For though it be not so plain and manifeste to the sense, as the gredye luste of eatynge and drynkynge, yet neuerthelesse manye take it for the chiefeste pleasure. All the Utopians graunt it to be a right souereigne pleasure, and as you woulde saye the foundation and grounde of all pleasures, as whiche euen alone is hable to make the state and condition of life delectable and pleasaunt. And it beyng once taken awaye, there is no place lefte for any pleasure. For to be without greife not hauinge health, that they call vn-sensibilitie, and not pleasure The Utopians haue long ago reiected and condempned the opinion of them, whiche sayde that stedfaste and quiete healthe (for this question also hathe bene diligently debated amonge them) oughte not therfore to be counted a pleasure, bycause they saye it can not be presentlye and sensiblye perceaued and felte by some outward motion But of the contrarie parte nowe they agree almooste all in this, that healthe is a moost soueraigne pleasure For seynge that in sycknesse (saye they) is greiffe, whiche is a mortal enemye to pleasure, euen as sicknes is to health, why should not then pleasure be in the quietnes of health? For they say it maketh nothing to this matter, whether you saye that sycknesse is a griefe, or that in sickenes is griefe, for all commethe to one purpose For whether health be a pleasure it selfe, or a necessary cause of pleasure, as fier is of heate, truelye bothe waye it foloweth, that they cannot be withoute pleasure, that be in perfect helth Furthermore whiles we eat (say they) then healthe, whiche beganne to be appayred, fighteth by the helpe of foode againste hunger In the which fight, whiles health by litle and litle getteth the vpper hande, that same procedyng, and (as ye would say) that onwardnes to the wonte strength minnstreth that pleasure, whereby we be so refreshed. Health therfore, whiche in the conflict is ioyefull, shall it not be mery, when it

hath gootten the victorie? But as soone as it hath recovered the pristinate strength, which thing onely in all the fight it cousted, shal it incontinent be astonied? Nor shal it not know nor imbrace the owne wealthe and goodnes? For where it is said, healthe can not be felt: this, they thinke, is nothing trew For what man wakyng, say they, felethe not himselfe in health. but he that is not? Is there anye man so possessed with stonyshe insensibilitie, or with lethaigie, that is to say, the sleping sicknes, that he will not graunt healthe to be acceptable to him, and delectable?

Delectation

But what other thinge is delectation, than that whiche by an other name is called pleasure?

They imbrace chieflie the pleasures of the mind For them they counte the chieft

The pleasures
of the mynde

and most principall of all The chiefe parte of them they thinke doth come of the exercise of vertue, and conscience of good life. Of these pleasures that the body ministreth, they geue ye preeminence to helth. For the delite of eating and drinking, and whatsoeuer hath any like pleasauntnes, they determyne to be pleasures muche to be desired, but no other wayes than for healthes sake For suche thinges of their own proper nature be not so pleasaunt, but in that they resiste sicke nesse priuele stealing on. Therefore like as it is a wise mans part, rather to auoid sicknes, then to wishe for medicines, and rather to driue away and put to flight carefull griefes, then to call for comfort: so it is muche better not to neade this kinde of pleasure, then thereby to be eased of the contrarie grieffe The whiche kinde of pleasure, yf anye man take for his felicitie, that man must nedes graunt, that then he shalbe in most felicitie, if he liue that life, which is led in continuall hunger, thurst, itching, eatinge, drynkyng, scratchyng, and rubbing. The which life how not only foule, and vn honest, but also howe miserable, and wretched it is, who perceueth not? These doubtles be the basest pleasures of al, as vn pure and vnperfect For they neuer come, but accompanied with their contrarie

griefes. As with the pleasure of eating is ioyned hunger, and yat after no very egal fort. For of these. 11. ye griefe is both the more vehement, and also of longer continuance. For it begetteth before the pleasure, and endeth not vntil the pleasure die with it. Wherefore suche pleasures they thinke not greatlye to be set by, but in yat thei be necessari. Howbeit they haue delite also in these, and thankfulli knowledge ye tender loue of mother nature, which with most pleasaunt delectation allureth her children to that, to the necessarie vse wherof they must from time to time continually be forced and druen. For how wretched and miserable should our life be, if these daiie greffes of hunger and thurst coulde not be druen awaye, but with bitter potions, and sower medicines, as the other

The giftes of nature diseases be, wherewith we be seldomer troubled? But beutie, strengthe, nimblesnes, these as peculiar and pleasaunt giftes of nature they make muche of. But those pleasures that be receaued by the eares, the eyes, and the nose, whiche nature willeth to be proper and peculiar to man (for no other liuinge creature doth behold the fairenes and the bewtie of the worlde, or is moued with any respecte of fauours, but onely for the diuersitie of meates, neither perceaueth the concordante and discordant distaunces of foundes, and tunes) these pleasures, I say, they accept and alowe as certen pleasaunte reioysinges of life. But in all thinges this cautel they vse, that a lesse pleasure hinder not a bigger, and that the pleasure be no cause of displeasure, whiche they thinke to folow of necessitie, if the pleasure be vnhoneste. But yet to dispise the comelines of bewtie, to wast the bodelie strengthe, to turne nimblesnes into sloughishnesse, to consume and make feble the bodie with fastinge, to do iniurie to healthe, and to reiecte the pleasaunte motions of nature, onles a man neglecte these commodities, whiles he dothe with a feruent zeale procure the wealthe of others, or the commen profite, for the whiche pleasure forborne, he is in hoope of a greater

pleasure at goddes hande, elles for a vaine shadow of vertue, for the wealth and profite of no man, to punish himselfe, or to the intente he maye be hable couragiously to suffer aduersitie: which perchaunce shall neuer come to him, this to do they thinke it a point of extreame madnes, and a token of a man cruelly minded towards himselfe, and vnkind towards nature, as one so disdainyng to be in her daunger, that he re-nounceth and refuseth all her benefites.

This is their sentence and opinion of vertue and pleasure And they beleue that by mans reason none can be found trewer then this, onles any Marke this well godlyer be inspired into man from heuen.

Wherin whether they beleue well or no neither the time doth suffer vs to discusse neither it is nowe necessarie For we haue taken vpon vs to shewe and declare their lores and ordinaunces, and not to defende them. But this thyng I beleue verely: howe soeuer these decrees be, that there is in no place of the world, neyther a more excellent people, neither a more flourishinge comen wealth They be lyghte and quicke of bodie, full of actiuitie and nimble-nes, and of more strength then a man

The wealth
and description
of the Utopians

woulde iudge them by their stature, which for all that is not to lowe And thoughe theyr soyle be not verie frutefull, nor their aier very wholsome, yet agaynste the ayer they so defende them with temperate diete, and so order and husbände their grounde with diligente trauaile, that in no countrey is greater increase, and plentye of corne and cattell, nor mens bodies of longer lyfe, and subiect or apte to fewer diseases There therfore a man maye see well, and diligentlye exploited and furnished, not onely those thinges whiche husbandemen do comenly in other countreis, as by craft and cunnynge to remedie the barrennes of the grounde: but also a whole wood by the handes of the people plucked vp by the rootes in one place, and set agayne in an other place. Wherin was had regard and consideration, not of plenty, but of commodious

carriage, that wood and timber might be nigher to the sea, or the riuers, or, ye cities For it is lesse labour and businesse to carrie grayne farre by land, than wood. The people be gentle, merie, quicke, and fyne witted, delitinge in quietnes, and when nede requireth, hable to abide and suffer much bodellie labour. Els they be not greatly desirous and fond of it but in the exercise and studie of the mind they be neuer wery When they had herd me speak of ye greke literature or lerning (for in latin there was nothing that I thought they would greatly allow, besides historiens and Poetes) they made wonderfull earnest and importunate sute vnto me that I would teach and instructe them in that tonge and learninge. I beganne therefore to reade vnto them, at the first true lie more bicause I would not seme to refuse the labour, then that I hooped that they would any thing profite therein. But when I had gone forward a litle, I perceaued in-

A wonderfull
aptnes to learninge in the
Utopians

continent by their diligence, that my labour should not be bestowed in vaine. For they began so easelie to fashion their letters, so plainlie to pronounce the woordes,

But now most
blockhedded asses be sette to
learninge, and
mostpregnaunt
wittes corrupt
with pleasures

so quickelie to learne by heart, and so fuerlie to rehearse the same, that I maruailed at it, sauinge that the most parte of them were fine, and chosen wittes and of ripe age, piked oute of the companie of the learned men, whiche not onelie of their owne free and voluntarie will, but also by the commaundement of the counsell, vndertoke to learne this langage Therefore in lesse then thre yeres space there was nothing in the Greke tonge that they lacked. They were hable to rede good authors withoute anie staye, if the booke were not false This kynde of learninge, as I suppose, they toke so muche the sooner, bycause, it is somewhat allyaunte to them. For I thinke that this nation tooke their beginninge of the Grekes, bicause their speche, which in al other poyntes is not much vnylike the Persian tonge, kepeth diuers signes and tokens of the

greke langage in the names of their cities, and of their magistrates. They haue of me (for when I was determyned to entre into my. iii. voyage, I caste into the shippe in the steade of marchandise a pretie fardel of bookes, bycause I intended to come againe rather neuer, than shortly) they haue, I saye, of me the moste parte of Platoes workes, more of Aristotles, also Theophrastus of plantes, but in diuers places (which I am sorye for) vnperfecte. For whiles we were a shipborde, a marmoset chaunced vpon the booke, as it was negligentlye layde by, which wantonlye playnge therewith plucked oute certeyne leaues, and toore them in pieces. Of them that haue wrytten the grammer, they haue onelye Lascaris. For Theodorus I caried not wyth me, nor neuer a dictionayre, but Hesichius, and Dioscorides. They sett greate store by Plutarches bookes. And they be deliyted wyth Lucianes mery conceytes and iestes. Of the Poetes they haue Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles in Aldus small prynte. Of the Historians they haue Thucidides, Herodotus, and Herodian. Also my companion, Tricius Apinatus caried with him phisick bookes, certein smal woorkes of Hippocrates and Galenes Microtechne. The whyche boke they haue in greate estimation. For thoughe there be almost no nation vnder heauen that hath lesse nede of Phisicke then they, yet this notwithstanding, ^{Phisicke highly regarded} Phisicke is no where in greater honour. Bycause they counte the knowledge of it among the goodlyeste, and most profytable partes of Philosophie. For whyles they by the helpe of this Philosophie searche oute the secreete mysteryes of nature, they thinke themselves to receaue thereby not onelye wonderfull greate pleasure, but also to obtaine great thanks and fauour of the autour and maker therof. Whome they thinke according to ye fasshon of other artificers, to haue set furth the maruelous and gorgeous frame of the world for man with great affection intentuely to beholde. Whom only he hath

The contemplacion of nature

made of witte, and capacitie to confidre and vnderstand the excellencie of so great a woork. And therefore he beareth (say they) more goodwyl and loue to the curious and diligent beholder and vewer of his woork and maruelour at the same, then he doth to him, which like a very brute beaste without witte and reason, or as one without sense or mouing, hath no regarde to soo greate and soo wonderfull a spectacle. The wittes therefore of the Utopians inured and exercised in learnyng, be marueilous quicke in the inuention of feates helpinge annye thinge to the aduantage and wealth of lyffe. Howbeit. ii. feates they maye thanke vs for. That is, the science of imprinting, and the crafte of makinge paper. And yet not onely vs but chieflie and principally themselves.

For when we shewed to them Aldus his print in bookes of paper, and told them of the stuffe wherof paper is made, and of the feate of grauing letters, speakinge sumwhat more, then we colde plainly declare (for there was none of vs, that knewe perfectlye either the one or the other) they furthwith very wittely coniectured the thinge. And where as before they wrote onely in skynnes, in barkes of tryes, and in rides, nowe they haue attempted to make paper, and to imprint letters. And thoughe at the first yt proued not all of the beste, yet by often assayinge the same they shortelye got the feate of bothe. And haue so broughte the matter aboute, that yf they had copenes of Greeke authores, they coulde lacke no bookes. But nowe they haue no moore, then I rehearsed before, sauinge that by pryntyng of bookes they haue multiplyed and increased the same into manye thousandes of copies. Whosoeuer cummethe thether to see the lande, beinge excellent in anye gifte o wytte, or through[h]e muche and longe iournyng wel experienced and sene in the knowledg[e] of many countreies (for the whyche cause wee were very welcome to them) him they receyue and interteyne wonders gentilly, and louinglye. For they haue delite to heare what is done in euery lande,

howbeit verie fewe merchaunte men come thether.
 For what shoulde they bring thether, onles it were Iron,
 or els gold and siluer, whiche they hadde rather carrye
 home agayne? Also such thinges as are to be caryed
 oute of theire lande, they thinke it more wysedome
 to carry that gere furthe themselves, then that other
 shoulde come thether to fetch it,
 toth[e] entente they maye the bet-
 ter knowe the out landes on
 euerye syde of them, and
 kepe in vre the feate
 and knowledge
 of sailinge

Of Bondemen, sicke per- sons, wedlocke, and di- uers other matters.



Hey neither make bondemen of prisoners
 taken in battayle, oneles it be
 in battaylle that they foughte
 them selves, nor of bondmens

A maruelous
 equitie of
 this nation

children, nor to be short, of anye fuche as
 they canne gette oute of forreine countries, though he
 were theire a bondman But either fuche, as amonge
 themselves for heinous offences be punyshed with bond-
 age, or elles fuche, as in the Cites of other landes for
 great trespasses be condemned to deathe And of
 this sort of bondemen they haue mooste stoore.

For manye of them they bringe home sumtimes pay-
 inge very lyle for them, yea mooste commonlye gett-
 ynge them for gramercye These sortes of bondemen
 they kepe not onely in continual woorke and labour,
 but also in bandes. But their oune men they handle
 hardest, whom they Iudge more desperate, and to haue
 deserued greater punisshemente, bycause they being so
 godlye broughte vp to vertue in soo excelente a com-
 mon wealth, could not for all that be refreined from

misdoing. An other kinde of bondemen they haue, when a vile drudge being a poore laborer in an other countrey doth chuefe of his owne free wyll to be a bondman among them. These they intreate and order honestly, and enterteine almoste as gentellye, as their owne free cytyzeins, sauyng that they put them to a lyttle more laboure, as thereto accustomed. Yf annye fuche, be disposed to departe thens (whiche seldom is seene) they neither holde him againste his wyll, neither sende him away with emptye ^{Of them that be sicke} handes. The fycke (as I sayde) they see to with great affection, and lette nothing at al passe concerninge either Phisycke or good diete, whereby they may be restored againe to their health. Such as be sicke of incurable diseases they comforte with sittinge by them, with talkinge with them, and to be shorte with all maner of helpes that may be. But yf the disease be not onelye vncurable, but also full of contynuall payne and anguyshe: then the priestes and the magistrates exhort the man, seinge he is not hable to doo anye dewtye of lyffe, and by ouerlyunge his owne deathe is noysome and irkesome to other, and greuous to himselfe: that he wyl determine with himselfe no longer to cheryshe that pestilent and peinesful disease. And seinge his lyfe is to him but a torment, that he wyl not bee vnwillinge to dye, but rather take a good hope to him, ^{Voluntarye deathe} and either dispatche himselfe out of that paynesful lyffe, as out of a prison, or a racke of tormente, or elles suffer himselfe willinglye to be rydde oute of it by other. And in so doinge they tell him he shall doo wysely, seing by his deathe he shall lose no commoditie, but ende his payne. And bycause in that acte he shall followe the counfel of the pryestes, that is to saye, of the interpreters of goddes wyll and pleasure, they shewe him that he shall do lyke a godly and a vertuous man. They that be thus perswaded, synyshe their lues willynglye, either with hunger, or elles dye in their sleape without anye fealing of deathe. But they cause none fuche to dye

agaynste his wyll, nor they vse no lesse dilygence and attendaunce aboute him : beleunge this to be an honorable deathe. Elles he that killeth himself before that the pryestes and the counsel haue allowed the cause of his deathe, him as vnworthy either to be buried, or with fier to be consumed, they caste vnburied into some stinkinge marnish. The woman is not married before she be

Of wedlocke

xviii yeres olde. The man iij yeres elder before he marye. If either the man or the woman be proued to haue actually offended before their marriage, with an other, the partye that so hath trespassed is sharpely punished. And bothe the offenders be forbidden euer after in al their lyfe to marrye. ones the faulte be forgeuen by the princes pardone. But bothe the good man and the good wyfe of the house, where that offense was committed as beinge slacke and neglygent in lookinge to their chardge, be in daunger of greate reproche and infamy. That offense is so sharpely punished, bicause they perceau, that onles they be diligently kepte from the libertye of this vice, fewe wyll ioyn together in the loue of marriage, wherein all the lyfe must be led with one, and also all the griefes and displeasures comming therewith paciently be taken and borne. Furthermore in chusinge wyfes and husbandes they obserue earnestly and straitely a custome, whiche semed to vs very fonde and folysh. For a sad and an honest matrone sheweth the woman, be she mayde or widdowe, naked to the wower. And lykewyse a sage and discrete

Thoughe not
verie honestly,
yet not vn-
wiselye

man exhibyteth the wower naked to the woman. At this custome we laughed, and disallowed it as foolishe. But they on the other parte doo greatlye wonder at the follye of al other nations, whyche in bynge a colte, whereas a lytle money is in hasarde, be so charye and circumspecte, that thoughe he be almoste all bare, yet they wyll not bye hym, ones the saddel and all the harnies be taken of, leaste vnder those couerynges be hydde, som galle or soore. And yet in chusinge a wyfe,

whyche shalbe either pleasure, or displeasure to them all theire lyfe after, they be so recheles, that al the refydewe of the woomans bodye beinge couered with clooths, they esteeme her scafelye be one handebredeth (for they can se no more but her face) and so to ioyne her to them not without greate reoperdye of euel agreinge together, yf any thing in her body afterward should chaunce of offend and myslyke them.

For all men be not so wyfe, as to haue respectes to the vertuous conditions of the partie And the endowmentes of the bodye cause the vertues of the minde more to be esteemed and regarded. yea euen in the mariages of wyfe men Verely so foule deformitie maye be hydde vnder those coueringes, that it maye quite alienate and take awaye the mans mynde from his wyfe, when it shal not be lawful for theire bodies to be separte agayne. If suche deformitie happen by any chaunce after the mariage is consummate and fynyshed, wel, there is no remedie but patience. Euery man muste take his fortune wel a worthe But it were wel done that a lawe were made wherebye all suche deceytes myghte be eschewed, and aduoyded before hande

And this were they constreyned more earnestlye to looke vpon, because they onely of the nations in that parte of the worlde bee contente euerye man with one wyfe a piece And matrymoneie is there neuer broken, but by death. excepte adulterye breake the bonde, or els the intollerable wayeward maners of either partye. For if either of them finde
 Duorcement themselfe for any such cause greued: they maye by the license of the counsel chaunge and take another. But the other partie lyueth euer after in infamy, and out of wedlocke. Howbeit the husbände to put away his wife for no other faulte, but for that some myshappe is fallen to her bodye, this by no meanes they wyll suffre For they iudge it a great poynt of crueltie, that anye body in their moste nede of helpe and comforte, shoulde be caste of and forsaken,

and that olde age, whych both bringeth sicknes with it, and is a syckenes it selfe, should vnkindly and vn-faythfullye be delte withall. But nowe and then it chaunfeth, where as the man and the woman cannot well agree betw[e]ne themselves, both of them fyndinge other, with whome they hope to lyue more quietlye and merylye, that they by the full consente of them bothe be diuorfed a sonder and married againe to other. But that not without the authoritie of the counsell Whiche agreeth to no diuorfes, before they and their wyfes haue diligently tried and examyned the matter. Yea and then also they be lothe to consent to it, bycause they know this to be the next way to break loue betwene man and wyfe, to be in easye hope of a new marriage. Breakers of wedlocke be punyshed with mooste greuous bondage And if both the offenders were married, then the parties whiche in that behalfe haue sufferede wrong, beinge diuorfed from the auoutrers, be married together, if they wille, or els to whom they lust But if either of them both do styl continewe in loue towarde so vnkinde a bedfellowe, the vse of wedlocke is not to them forbidden, if the partye faultles be disposed to followe in toylinge and drudgerye the person, which for that offence is condempned to bondage. And very ofte it chaunceth that the repentaunce of the one, and the earnest diligence of the other, dothe so moue the prince with pytie and compassion, that he restoreth the bonde persone from seruitude to libertie and fredom again. But if the same partie be taken estiones in that faulte, there is no other waye but death. To other trespaces no prescript punisshmente is appoynted by anye lawe. But

accordinge to the heynousenes of the offense, or contrarye, so the punisshmente is moderated by the discretion of the counsell The husbandes chastice their wyfes: and the parentes their children, oneles they haue done anye so horryble an offense, that the open punisshmente thereof maketh muche for the aduauncemente

The decerning
of punishment
putte to the
discretion of
the magistra-
tes

of honeste maners. But moſte commenlye the moſte heynous faultes be punyſhed with the incommoditie of bondage For that they ſuppoſe to be to the offenders no leſſe grieſe, and to the common wealth more profit, then yf they ſhould haſtely put them to death, and ſo make them quite out of the waye. For there cummeth more profit of their labour, then of their death, and by their example they feare other the longer from lyke offences But if they beynge thus uſed, doo rebell and kicke againe, then forſothe they be ſlayne as deſperate and wilde beaſtes, whom neither priſon nor chaine coulde reſtraine and kepe vnder. But they, whiche take their bondage pacientlye, be not leſte all hopeles For after they haue bene broken and tamed with long miſeries, if then they ſhewe ſuch repentaunce, as thereby it maye bee perceaued that they be foryer for their offence then for their punyſhement: ſumtymes by the Prynces prerogatyue, and ſumtymes by the voyce and conſent of the people, their bondage either is mitigated, or els cleane releaſed and forgeuen. He that moueth to aduoutreye is in no leſſe daunger and ieopardie, then yf he hadde committed aduoutreye in dede For in all offences they counte the intente and pretended purpoſe as euell, as the acte or dede it ſelfe, thinking that no lette oughte to excuſe him, that did his beſte to haue no lette They haue ſingular delite and pleaſure in ſoles And as it is a greate reproche to do annye of them hurte or iniury, ſo they prohibite not to take pleaſure of fooliſhnes For that, they thinke, dothe muche good to the foolles. And if any man be ſo ſadde, and ſterne, that he cannot laughe neither at their wordes, nor at their dedes, none of them be committed to his tuition. for feare leaſt he would not intreate them gentilly and fauorably enough: to whom they ſhould brynge no delectation (for other goodnes in them is none) muche leſſe anye proffite ſhoulde they yelde him To mocke a man for his de-

Motion to ad-
uoutreye pu-
niſhed

pleaſure of
foolles

formitie, or for that he lacketh anye parte or lymme of his bodye, is counted greate dishonestye and reproche, not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh. Which vnwyfely doth imbrayde anye man of that as a vice, that was not in his powre to eschewe. Also as they counte and reken verye little witte to be in him, that regardeth not naturall bewtie and comelinesse, fo to helpe the same with payntinges, is taken for a vaine and a wanton pride, not without greate infamie. For they knowe euen by very experience, that no comelinesse of bewtye doethe so hyghelye commende and auauce the wiuers in the conceite of their husbandes, as honest conditions and lowlines. For as loue is oftentimes wonne with bewty, so it is not kept, preferred, and continued, but by vertue and obedience. They do not onely feare their people from doying euil by punishmentes, but also allure them to vertue with rewardes of honoure. Therefore they set vp in the markette place the ymages of notable men, and of such as haue bene great and bountefull benefactors to the commen wealth, for ye perpetual memorie of their good actes. and also that the glory and renowme of the auncetors maye styrr and prouoke their posteritie to vertue. He that inordinatly and ambitiously desireth promotions, is left al hopeles for euer atteinyng any promotion as long as he liueth. They lyue together lounglye. For no magistrate is eyther hawte or fearfull. Fathers they be called, and lyke fathers they vse themselues. The citezens (as it is their dewtie) willynglye exhibite vnto them dew honoure without any compulsion. Nor the prince himselfe is not knowen from the other by princely apparell, or a robe of state, nor by a crown or diademe roial, or cap of maintenance, but by a litle sheffe of corne caried before him. And so a taper of wax is borne before ye bishop, wherby onely he is knowen. They haue but few

Counterfeite
bewtie.

Sinne puni-
shed and ver-
tue rewarded

The inordinate
desire of ho-
nours condem-
ned

Magistrates
honoured.

Fewe lawes. For to people so instructe and institute very fewe do suffice. Yea this thing they chiefly reprove among other nations, that innumerable booke of lawes and expositions vpon the same be not sufficient. But they think it against all right and iustice that men shoulde be bound to those lawes, which either be in number mo then be hable to be read, or els blinder and darker, then that anye man

The multitude
of lawyers
superfluous.

can well vnderstande them. Furthermore they vtterlie exclude and banishe all attorneis, proctours, and sergeauntes at the lawe. whiche craftelye handell matters, and subtelly dispute of the lawes. For they thinke it moste meete, that euery man shoulde pleade his own matter, and tel the same tale before the iudge that he wold tell to his man of law. So shal there be lesse circumstaunce of wordes, and the trueth shall soner come to light, whiles the iudge with a discrete iudgement doeth waye the woordes of him, whom no lawyer hath instructe with deceit, and whiles he helpeth and beareth out simple wittes against the false and malicious circumuentions of craftie children. This is harde to be obserued in other countreys, in so infinitie a number of blinde and intricate lawes. But in Utopia euery man is a cunning lawier. For (as I said) they haue very few lawes: and the plainer and grossier that anye interpretation is:

The intent of
lawes

that they allowe as most iuste. For all lawes (saie they) be made and publyshed onely to the intende, that by them euery man shoulde be put in remembraunce of his dewtie. But the craftye and subtyll interpretation of them (forasmuche as few can atteyne thereto) canne put verie fewe in that remembraunce, where as the simple, the plaine, and grosse meaninge of the lawes is open to euerye man.

Elles as touchinge the vulgare sort of the people, whiche be bothe mooste in number, and haue moste nede to knowe their dewties, were it not as good for them, that no law were made at all, as when it is made, to bringe so blynde an interpretation vpon it, that

without greate witte and longe arguynge no man can discusse it? To the fyndynge oute whereof neyther the grosse iudgement of the people can attaine, neither the whole life of them that be occupied in woorkinge for their liuynge, canne suffice thereto. These vertues of the Utopians haue caused their nexte neiboures and borderers, whiche lue fre and vnder no subiection (for the Utopians longe ago, haue deliuered manye of them from tyrannie) to take magistrates of them, some for a yeare, and some for fife yeares space Which when the tyme of their office is expired, they bringe home againe with honoure and praise, and take new againe with them into their countrey. These nations haue vndoubtedlye very well and holsomely prouided for their common wealthes. For seynge that bothe the makinge and marring of the weale publique, doeth depende and hange vpon the maners of the rulers and magistrates, what officers coulde they more wyselye haue chossen, then those which can not be ledde from honestye by bribes (for to them that shortly after shal depart thens into their own countrey money should be vnprofitable) nor yet be moued eyther with fauoure, or malice towards any man, as beyng straungers, and vna[c]quainted with the people? The whiche two vices of affection and auarice, where they take place in iudgementes, incontinente they breake iustice, the strongest and suerest bonde of a common wealth. These peoples whiche fetch their officers and rulers from them, the Utopians cal their fellowes And other to whome they haue bene beneficiall, they call their frendes As touching leagues, which in other places betwene countrey and countrey be so ofte concluded, broken, and renewed, they neuer make none with anie nation. For to what purpose serue leagues, say they? As thoughe nature had not set sufficient loue betwene man and man. And who so regardeth not nature, thinke you that he will passe for wordes? They be brought into this opinion chieflie, because that in those partes of the worlde, leagues be-

Of leagues

twene princes be wont to be kepte and obserued very skenderly. For here in Europa, and especialye in these partes where the faith and religion of Christe reigneth, the maiestie of leagues is euerye where esteemed holy and inuolable: partlie through the iustice and goodnes of princes, and partly at the reuerence and motion of the head Bishops. Which like as they make no promisse themselves, but they do verie religiouslye peifourme the same, so they exhorte all princes in any wise to abide by their promisses, and them that refuse or denye so to do, by their pontifical powre, and authoritie they compell thereto. And surely they thinke well that it might seme a verie reprochefull thing, yf in the leagues of them which by a peculiere name be called faithful, faith should haue no place. But in that newe founde parte of the world, which is scaslie so farre frome vs beyond the line equinoctiall, as our life and maners be diffident from theirs, no trust nor confidence is in leagues. But the mo and holier ceremonies the league is knitte vp with, the soner it is broken by some caullation founde in the wordes, which many times of purpose be so craftelie put in, and placed, that the bandes can neuer be so sure nor so stronge, but they will find some hole open to crepe out at, and to breake both league and trueth. The whiche craftye dealing, yea the whiche fraude and deceite, if they should know it to be practised among priuate men in their bargaines and contractes, they would incontinent crie out at it with an open mouth, and a fower countenance, as an offense moste detestable, and worthye to be punnyshed with a shamefull deathe: yea euen very they that auauance themselves authours of lyke counsell geuen to princes. Wherefore it may wel be thought, either that al iustice is but a basse and a low vertue, and which aualet it self farre vnder the highe dignitie of kynges. Or at the least wise, that there be two iustices, the one meete for the inferiour sorte of the people, goynge a fote and crepyng lowe by the grounde, and bounde down on euery side

with many bandes, bycause it shall not run atrouers. The other a princelye vertue, which like as it is of much hygher maiestie, then the other pore iustice, so also it is of much more libertie, as to the which nothing is vnlawfull that it lusteth after. These maners of princes (as I said) whiche be there so euell keepers of leagues, cause the Utopians, as I suppose, to make no leagues at al, which perchaunce would chaunge their minde if they liued here. Howbeit they thinke that though leagues be neuer so faithfullie obserued and kepte, yet the custome of makynge leagues was very euell begon. For this causeth men (as though nations which be seperat a sondre, by ye space of a litle hil or a ruer, were coupled together by no societie or bonde of nature) to thinke themselues borne aduersaries and enemies one to an other, and that it were lawfull for the one to seke the death and destruction of the other, if leagues were not yea, and that after ye leagues be accorded, frendship doth not grow and encrease. But the licence of robbing and stealing doth styll remaine, as farfurth as for lack of foresight and aduisement in writing the wordes of the league, any sentence or clause to the contrarie is not therein sufficientlie comprehended. But they be of a contrarye opinion. That is, that no man oughte to be counted an enemye, whiche hath done no iniurye. And that the felowshippe of nature is a stronge league and that men be better and more surely knit together by loue and beneuolence, then by couenauntes of leagues: by hartie affection of minde, then by wordes.

Of warfare.



Warre or battel as a thing very beastly, and yet to no kinde of beastes in so muche vse as to man, they do detest and abhorre. And contrarie to the custome almooste of all other nations, they counte nothyng

so muche against glorie, as glory gotten in warre. And therefore thoughte they do daylie practise and exercise themselues in the discipline of warre, and not onelie the men, but also the women vpon certen appointed daies, lest they should be to seke in the feate of armes, if nede should require, yet they neuer go to battell, but either in the defence of their owne countrey, or to driue out of their frendes lande the enemies that haue inuaded it, or by their power to deliuer from the yocke and bondage of tyrannye some people, that be therewith oppressed. Which thing they do of meere pitie and compassion. Howbeit they sende helpe to their frendes, not euer in their defence. But sometymes also to requite and reuenge iniuries before to them done. But this they do not onlesse their counsell and aduise in the matter be asked, whiles it is yet newe and freshe. For if they finde the cause probable, and if the contrarie part wil not restooke agayne suche thynges as be of them iustelye demaunded, then they be the chiefe autours and makers of the warre. Whiche they do not onlie as ofte as by inrodes and inuasions of soldiours praies and booties be driuen awaye, but then also muche more mortally, when their frendes marchauntes in anie lande, either vnder the pretence of vniuste lawes, or elles by the wrestinge and wronge vnderstandinge of good lawes, do susteine an vniust accusation vnder the colour of iustice. Neither the battell whiche the Utopians fought for the Nephelogeates against the Alaopolitanes a litle before oure time was made for any other cause, but that the Nephelogeate marchaunt men, as the Utopians thought, suffied wrong of the Alaopolitanes, vnder the pretence of righte. But whether it were righte or wronge, it was with so cruel and mortal warre reuenged, the countreis rounde about ioyninge their helpe and powre to the purfaunce and malice of bothe parties, that moste flourishing and wealthy peoples, being some of them shrewedly shaken, and some of them sharply beaten, the mischeues wer not finished nor ended, vn-

til the Alaopolitanes, at the last were yelded vp as
 bondemen into the iurisdiction of the Nephelogetes
 For the Utopians^s fought not this war for themselues.
 And yet the Nephelogetes before the warre, when the
 Alaopolitanes flourished in wealth, wer nothing to be
 compared with them. So egerlye the Utopians pro-
 sequete the iniuries done to their frendes· yea, in
 money matters, and not their owne likewise For if
 they by coueyne or gyle be wiped beside their goodes,
 so that no violence be done to their bodies, they
 wreake their anger by absteyninge from occupieng with
 that nation, vntil they haue made satisfiſſaction Not
 forbicause they set lesse ſtoore by their owne citizens,
 then by their frendes : but that they take the losse of
 their frendes money more heuclie then ye losse of their
 own. Bicause that their frendes marchaunte men, for-
 asmuche as that they leise is their own priuate goods,
 susteine great dammage by the losse. But their owne
 citizeyns leise nothing but of the commen goods, and
 of that whiche was at home plentifull and almost
 superfluous, els had it not bene sent furth Therefore
 no man feleth the losse. And for this caule they
 thinke it to cruell an acte, to reuenge that losse with
 the deathe of manie, the incommoditie of the which
 losse no man feeleth neither in his lyfe, nor yet in
 his liuing. But if it chaunce that any of their men
 in any other countrey be maimed or killed, whe-
 ther it be done by a commen or a priuate counſel,
 knowyng and trying out the trueth of the matter by
 their ambassadours, onlesse the offenders be ren-
 dered vnto them in recompence of the iniurie, they
 will not be appeased but incontinent they proclaime
 warre againſt them. The offenders yelded, they pun-
 iſhe either with death, or with bondage. They be not
 only fory, but also aſhamed to atchieue the victorie with
 bloudſhed, counting it greate ſolie to bie
 precious wares to dere. They reioyſe and
 auaunt themſelues, if they vanquiſhe and oppreſſe their
 enemies by craft and deceite. And for that act they

Victorie deare
 bought.

make a generall triumph, and as yf the matter were manfullye handeled, they set vp a pyller of stone in the place where they so vanquished their enemies, in token of the victorie For then they glorie, then they boaste, and cracke that they haue plained the men in deede, when they haue so ouercommen, as no other liuing creature but onely man could. that is to saye, by the by the mighte and puiſaunce of wit. For with bodily strength (ſay they) beares, lions, boores, wulfes, dogges, and other wld beaſtes do fight And as the moſte part of them do paſſe vs in ſtrength and fierce courage, ſo in wit and reaſon we be much ſtronger then they all. Their chief and principall purpoſe in warre, is to obteine that thyng, whiche if they had before obtained, they woulde not haue moued battell But if that be not poſſible, they take ſo cruell vengeance of them whiche be in the faulte, that euer after they be aferde to do the like This is their chiefe and principall intent, whiche they immediatlye and firſt of al proſequite, and ſetforwarde But yet ſo, that they be more circumſpecte, in auoidinge and eſchewynge ieopardies, then they be deſierous of playſe and renowne Therefore immediatlye after that warre is ones ſolemnelie denounced, they procure many proclamations ſigned with their owne commen ſeale to be ſet vp priuile at one time in their enemies lande, in places moſte frequented. In theſe proclamations they promiſſe greate rewardes to hym that will kill their enemies prince, and ſome what leſſe giſtes, but them verye greate alſo, for euerye heade of them, whoſe names be in the ſaide proclamations conteyned They be thoſe whom they count their chiefe aduerſaries, next vnto the prince Whatſoeuer is preſcribed vnto him that killeth any of the proclaimed perſons, that is dubled to him that bringeth anye of the ſame to them aliue: yea, and to the proclaimed perſones themſelues, if they wil chaunge their mindes, and come into them, taking their partes, they profer the ſame greate rewardes with pardone, and ſuertie of their liues. Therefore it quickly commeth to paſſe that their ene-

mies haue all other men in suspicion, and be vnfaithfull, and mistrusting among themselues one to another, liuing in great feare, and in no lesse ieopardie. For it is well knowen, that diuers times the most part of them (and speciallie the prince him selfe) hathe bene betrayed of them, in whom they put their moste hope and trust. So that there is no maner of act nor dede that giftes and rewardes do not enforce men vnto. And in rewardes they kepe no measure. But remembring and confidering into how great hasarde and ieopardie they cal them, endeuoure themselues to recompence the greatnes of the daunger with like great benefites. And therefore they promise not only wonderful greate abundance of golde, but also landes of greate reuenues heng in most fasse places among their frendes. And these promisses they perfourme saythfully withoute annye fraude or couyne. This custome of bynge and sellynge aduerfaries among other people is dysallowed, as a cruel acte of a basse and a cowardyshe mynde. But they in this behalfe thinke themselves muche prayse woorthy, as who lyke wyse men by this meanes dispatche greate warres withoute anny battell or skyrmysh. Yea they counte it also a dede of pytye and mercye, bicause that by the deathe of a fewe offenders the lyues of a greate numbie of innocentes, aswel of their owne men as also of their enemies be raunfomed and saued, which in fighting shoulde haue bene sleane. For they doo no lesse pytye the basse and common sorte of their enemies people, then they doo their owne knowing yat they be druen and enforced to warre againste their willes by the furyous madnes of their princes and heades. Yf by none of these meanes the matter goo forward, as they woulde haue it, then they procure occaysons of debate, and dissention to be spredde amonge their enemies. As by bringinge the princes brother, or some of the noble men in hoope to obtayne the kingedome. Yf this waye preuayle not, then they reyse vp the people that be nexte neyghebores and bordeiers to their enemies, and them they

fette in their neckes vnder the coloure of some olde tytle of ryghte, such as kynges doo, neuer lacke. To them they promysse their helpe and ayde in their warre. And as for moneye they gyue them abundance. But of their owne cytyzens they sende to them fewe or none. Whome they make so much of, and loue so intierlye, that they would not be willing to chaunge anye of them for their aduersaries prince. But their gold and siluer, bycause they kepe it all for thys only purpose, they laye it owte frankly and frely: as who shoulde lyue euen as wealthely, if they hadde bestowed it euerye pennye. Yea and besydes their ryches, whyche they kepe at home, thei haue also an infinite treasure abroad, by reason that (as I sayde before) manye nations be in their debte. Therefore they hire soldiours oute of all countreis and sende them to battayle, but cheifly of the zapotetes. This people is. 500 myles from Utopia eastwarde. They be hideous, sauage, and fyerce, dwellynge in wild woodes and high mountaines, where they were bredde and brought vp. They be of an harde nature, hable to abide and susteine heate, colde, and labour, abhorrynge from all delicate deintyes, occupyenge no husbandrye nor tyllage of the ground, homelye and rude both in buildinge of their houses and in their apparrel, geuen vnto no goodnes, but onely to the breedinge and bringyng vp of cattel. The moste parte of their lyunge is by huntynge and stealyng. They be borne onely to warre, whyche they diligently and earnestely seke for. And when they haue gotten it, they be wonders glad thereof. They goo furthe of their countreye in greate companies together, and who soeuer lackethe souldyours, there they proffer their seruice for small wages. This is onely the crafte they haue to gette their lyunge by. They maynteyne their lyfe, by sekynge their deathe. For them whom wyth they be in wayges they fyghte hardelye, fyerflye, and faythefullye. But they bynde themselves for no certeyne tyme. But vpon this condition they

entre into bondes, that the nexte daye they wyll take parte with the other fyde for greater wayges, and the nexte daye after that, they wyll be readye to come backe agayne for a lytle more moneye. There be fewe warres thereawaye, wherein is not a greate numbere of them in bothe parties. Therefore it dayely chauncethe that nye kynsefolke whyche were hiered together on one parte, and there verye frendelye and familiarlye vsed themselves one wyth another, shortly after beinge separte in contrarye partes, runne one againste another enuyouslye and fyercelye. and forgettinge bothe kindred and frendeshyppe, thruste theire swordes one in another. And that for none other cause, but that they be hyered of contrarye prynces for a lytle moneye. Whyche they doo so hyghlye regarde and esteame, that they will easelye be prouoked to chaunge partes for a halfe-penye more wayges by the daye. So quykelye they haue taken a smacke in couetenes. Whyche for all that is to them no proffyte. For that they gette by fyghtyng, immediatlye they spende vnthryftelye and wretchedlye in ryotte. This people fighteth for the Utopians agaynste all nations, bycause they geue them greater wayges, then annye other nation wyll. For the Utopians lyke as they seke good men to vse wel, so they seke these euell and vicious men to abuse. Whome, when neade requirethe, with promisses of greate rewardes they putte forthe into great leopardyes. From whens the mooste parte of them neuer cummeth againe to aske their rewardes. But to them that remaine aluethy paye yat which they promissed faithfully, that they maye be the more willinge to put themselves in like daunger another time. Nor ye Utopianes passe not how many of them they bring to destruction. For they beleue yat they should doo a verye good deade for all mankind, if they could ridde out of ye worlde all that fowle stinking denne of that most wicked and cursed people. Next vnto thies they vse ye soldiours of them for whom they fighte. And then the helpe of their other frendes. And laste of all, they ioyne to

theire owne citizens Emong whome they giue to one of tried vertue and prowes the reule, gouernaunce, and conduction of the whole armye Vnder him they appoynte ij other, whyche, whyles he is sauſſe, be bothe priuate and oute of offyce. But yf he be taken or ſlayne, the one of the other. ij. ſuccedeth hym, as it were by inherytaunce. And if the ſeconde miſcarrye, then the thude taketh his rowme, leaſte that (as the chaunce of battell is vncerteine and doubtful) the ieopardye or deathe of the capitaine ſhoulde brynge the whole armye in haſarde. They chueſe ſoldyours out of euery citey thoſe, whych putte furthe themſelfſes wyllingelye For they thruſte no man forthe into warre agaynſte his wyll Bycauſe they beleue, yf annye man be fearefull and fainte harted of nature, he wyll not onelye doo no manfull and hardy acte hym ſelfe, but alſo be occayſon of cowardenes to his fellowes. But if annye battell be made agaynſte theire owne countreye, then they putt theſe cowardes (ſo that they be ſtronge bodyed) in ſhyppes amonge other bolde harted men. Or elles they dyſpoſe them vpon the walles, from whens they maye not flye. Thus what for ſhame that theire enemies be at hande, and what for bycauſe they be without hope of runninge awaye, they forgette all feere And manye times extreame neceſſitye turnethe cowardnes into prowes and manlynnes. But as none of them is thruſt forthe of his countrey into warre againſte his wyll, ſo women that be wyllinge to accompany theire huſbandes in tymes of warre be not prohibited or letted. Yea they prouoke and exhorte them to it with prayſes And in ſet ſylde the wyues doo ſtande euerye one by theire owne huſbandes ſyde. Alſo euery man is compaſſed next aboute with his owne children, kinſfolkes, and aliaunce. That they, whom nature chiefly moueth to mutual ſuccoure, thus ſtandynge together, maye healepe one another. It is a great reproche, and diſhoneſty for the huſband to come home without his wiſſe, or the wyſſe withoute her huſbande, or the ſonne without his father.

And therefore if the other part sticke so harde by it, that the battel come to their handes, it is fought with great slaughter and^pblodshed, euen to the vtter destruction of both partes. For as they make all the meanes and shyftes that maye be to kepe themselves from the necessitie of fyghtinge, or that they may dispatche the battell by their hiered foldyours: so when there is no remedy, but that they muste neades fight themselves, they they do as corragiouslye fall to it, as before, whyles they myght, they did wiselye auoyde and refuse it. Nor they be not most fierce at the first bront. But in continuance by litle and lytle their fierce courage encreaseth, with so stubborne and obstynate myndes, that they wyll rather dye then gyue back an ynche. For that suertye of lyuinge, whiche euerye man hath at home beinge ioyned with noo carefull anxietye or remembraunce how their posteritie shall lyue after them (for his pensifnes oftentymes breakethe and abateth couragious stomakes) maketh them stowte and hardye, and disdaineiful to be conquered. Moreouer their knowledge in cheualrye and feates of armes putteth them in a good hope. Finally the wholesome and vertuous opinions, wherein they were brought vp euen from their chuldhode, partely through learnynge, and partlye throughe the good ordinaunces and lawes of their weale publike augmente and encrease their manfull courage. By reason whereof they neither set so litle store by their liues, that they will rasshelye and vnaduisedlye caste them away: nor they be not so farre in lewde and fond loue therewith, that they will shamefullye couete to kepe them, when honestie biddeth leaue them. When the battel is hottest and in al places most fierce and feruent, a bende of chofen and picked yong men, whiche be sworne to lue and dye togethers, take vpon them to destroye their aduerfaries capitaine. Whome they inuade now with priuy wiesles, now by open strength. At him they strike both nere and farre of. He is assayled with a long and a con-

The capitane
is chieflye to
be pursued to
th[e] intent the
battell maye
the soner be
ended

tinuall affaulte freshe men styll commynge in the wened mens places. And feldome it chaunceth (onles he he saue hymselfe by flyng) that he is not either slayne, or els taken prifoner, and yelded to his enemies aloue. If they wyne the fyelde, they perfecute not there enemies with the violent rage of slaughter. For they had rather take them aloue, then kyl them. Neither they do so follow the chafe and pursute of there enemies, but they leaue behinde them one parte of there hoste in battaile arraye vnder their standares. In so muche that if al their whole armie be discumfeted and ouercum fauing the rerewarde, and that they therewith atchieue the victory, then they had rather lette al their enemies scape, then to followe them out of array. For they remembre, it hath chaunced vnto themselves more then ones: the whole powre and strenght of their hoste being vanquished and put to flight, whiles their enemies reioysing in the victory haue perfecuted them flyng some one way and some another, a small companie of there men lying in an ambushe, there redy at all occasions, haue sodainely ryfen vpon them thus disperfed and scattered oute of arraye, and through presumption of safety vnaduisedly pursuing the chafe: and haue incontinent changed the fortune of the whole battayll: and spite of their tethes wrestinge oute of their handes the sure and vndouted victorye, being a litle before conquered, haue for their parte conquered the conquerers. It is hard to say whether they be craftier in layinge an ambushe, or wittier in auoydinge the same. You would thinke they intende to flye, when they meane nothing lesse. And contrarye wyse when they go about that purpose, you wold beleue it were the leaste parte of their thought. For if they perceauie themselves either ouermatched in numbre, or closed in too narrowe a place, then they remoue their campe either in the night season with silence, or by some pollicie they deceaue there enemies, or in the day time they retiere backe so softelye, that it is no lesse ieoperdie to medle with them when they geue backe, then when they preese on. They fence and

fortifie their campe sewerlye with a deape and a brode trenche. The earth therof is cast inward. Nor they do not fet drudgeis and slaues a worke about it. It is doone by the handes of the souldiours them selves. All the whole armye worketh vpon it: excepte them that kepe watche and warde in harneis before the trenche for sodeine auentures. Therefore by the labour of so manye a large trenche closinge in a greate compasse of grounde is made in leiffe tyme then anye man woulde beleue.

Theire armoure or harneys, whiche they Their armour weare, is sure and strong to receaue strokes, and handsome for all mounges and gestures of the bodye, infomuche that it is not vnweldye to swimme in. For in the discipline of their warefare amonge other feates thei learne to swimme in harnes. Their weapons be arrowes aloufe whiche they shote both strongly and surelye, not onelye fotemen, but also horsemen. At hande strokes they vse not swordes but pollaxes, whiche be mortall, aswel in sharpenes, as in weyghte, both for foynes and downe strokes. Engines for warre they deuise and inuent wonders wittelye. Whiche when they be made they kepe verie secrete, leaste yf they shoulde be knowen before neade requyre, they should be but laughed at and serue to no purpose. Bnt in makynge them hereunto they haue chiefe respectes, that they be both easy to be caried, and handsome to be moued, and turned about.

Of truces
Truce taken with their enemies for a shorte time they do so firmlye and saythfullye keape, that they wyll not breake it: no not though they be thereunto prouoked. They doe not waste nor destroye their enemies lande with forraginges, nor they burne not vp their corne. Yea, they saue it as muche as may be from being ouerrunne and troden downe either with men or horses, thinkinge that it growethe for their owne vse and proffit. They hurt no man that is vnarmed, onles he be an espiall. All cities that be yelded vnto them, they defende. And suche as they wyne by force of assaulte, they neither dispoyle nor sacke, but them that withstode and dyssuaded the

veldynge vp of the same, they put to deathe, the other
 fouldiours they punnyſhe with bondage All the
 weake multitude they leaue vntouchēd. If they knowe
 that annye citezeins counſelled to yealde and rendre
 vp the citie, to them they gyue parte of the condemned
 mens goods The reſydewe they diſtribute and giue
 frelye amonge them, whoſe helpe they had in ſame
 warre For none of them ſelfes taketh any portion of
 the praye But when the battaile is finiſhed and ended,
 they put theire frendes to neuer a penny coſte of al the
 charges that they were at, but laye it vpon theire
 neckes that be conquered. Them they burdeine with the
 whole charge of theſe expenſeis, whiche they demaunde
 of them partelye in moneie to be kept for like uſe of
 battayll, and partelye in landes of greate reuenues to be
 payde vnto them yearelye for euer Suche reuenues
 they haue now in manye countreis Whiche by litle and
 litle ryſinge of dyuers and ſondry cauſes be increaſed
 aboue vij. [ſeven] hundrethe thouſand ducates by the
 yere Thether they ſende forth ſome of their citezeins
 as Lieutenantes, to lue there ſumptuouſly like men
 of honoure and renowne And yet this not withſtand-
 inge muche moneye is ſaued, which commeth to the
 common treaſory: onles it ſo chaunce, that they had
 rather truſt ye countrey with the money Which
 many times they do ſo long, vntil they haue nede to
 occupie it And it ſeldome happeneth, that thei de-
 maund al Of theſe landes they aſſigne parte vnto
 them, which at their requeſt and exhortacion put them-
 ſelves in ſuch ieopardies, as I ſpake of before. If anye
 prince ſtirre vp warre agaynſte them, intending to
 inuade theire lande, they mete hym incontinent oute
 of theire owne borders with greate powre and ſtrength.
 For they neuer lyghtely make warre in their owne
 countrei. Nor they be neuer broughte into ſo ex-
 treme neceſſitie as to take
 helpe out of forreyne
 landes into their
 owne llande.

¶ Of the religions in Atopia.



Here be diuers kinde^s of religion not only in sondrie partes of the Ilande, but also in diuers places of euery citie. Some worship for God the sonne. some the mone. some, some other of the planettes.

There be that geue worship to a man that was ones of excellent vertue or of famous glory, not only as God, but also as the chiefest and hyghest God. But the moste and the wy^{se}te parte (reiectyng^e al the^{se}) beleue, that there is a certayne Godlie powre vnknowne, eu^erlastinge, incomprehen^sible, inexplicable, farre aboue the capacitie and retche of mans witte, disper^sed throughoute all the worlde, not in bignes, but in vertue and power. Him they call the father of al. To him alone they attribute the beginnⁱⁿges, the encreasⁱⁿges, the procedⁱⁿges, the chaunges, and the endes of al thinges. Neither they geue any diuine honours to any other then to him. Yea al ye other also, though they be in diuers opinions, yet in this pointe they agree all togethers with the wisest sorte, in beleuing that there is one chiefe and principall God, the maker and ruler of the whole worlde. whome they all commonlye in their countrey language call Mythra. But in this they disagree, that among some he is counted one, and amonge some an other. For euery one of them, whatsoeuer yat is whiche he taketh for the chief god, thinketh it to be the very same nature, to whole only diuine mighte and maies^{tie}, the summe and foueraintie of al thinges by the consent of al people is attributed and geuen. Howbeit they all begyn by litle and litle to forsake and fall from this varietie of superstitions, and to agre togethers in that religion whiche semethe by reason to passe and excell the residewe. And it is not to be doubted, but all the other would long agoo haue bene abolished, but that whatsoeuer vnprosperous thyng^e happened to anie of

them, as he was mynded to chaunge his religion, the fearefulnesse of people did take it, not as a thinge comminge by chaunce, but as fente from GOD out of heauen. As thoughe the God, whose honoure he was forfakynge, woulde reuenge that wicked purpose against him. But after they hearde vs speake of the name of Christe, of his doctrine, lawes, myracles, and of thee no lesse wonderful constancie of so manye martyrs, whose bloude wyllinglye shedde broughte a great numbred of nations throughout all partes of the worlde into their sect: you will not beleue with howe gladde mindes, they agreed vnto the same: whether it were by the secrete inspiration of GOD, or elles for that they thought it nieghest vnto that opinion, which among them is counted the chiefeft. Howbeit I thinke this was no finale helpe and furtheraunce in the matter, that they harde vs say, that Christe instituted among his, al thinges commen: and that the same Religious houses communitie doth yet remaine amongst the rightest Christian companies Verely howe soeuer it came to passe, manye of them consented togethers in our religion, and were wasshed in ye holy water of baptisme. But because among vs foure (for no mo of vs was left a lue, two of our companie beyng dead) there was no priest, which I am right sorie for: they beyng entered and instructed in al other pointes of our religion, lacke only those sacramentes, whiche here none but priestes do minister. Howbeit they vnderstand and perceiue them, and be very desierous of ye same. Yea, they reason and dispute ye matter earnestly among themselues, whether without ye sending of a christian bishop, one chosen out of their own people may receaue the ordre of priesthod. And truely they were minded to chuse one. But at my departure from them they had chosen none. They also which do not agree to Christes religion, feare no man from it, nor speake against any man that hath receiued it. Sauiug that one of our company in my presence was sharply punished. He as soone as he

was baptised, began against our willes. with more earnestte affection, then wisdom, to reason of Christes religion: and began to waxe so hote in his matter, that he did not onely preferre our religion before al other, but also did vtterly despise and condempne all other, calling them prophane, and the folowers of them wicked and deuellish, and the children of euerlastinge dampnation. When he had thus longe reasoned the matter, they laide holde on him, accused him, and condemned him into exile, not as a despiser of religion, but as a sedicious person, and a raiser vp of diffention amonge the people. For this is one of the auncientest lawes amonge them: that no man shall be blamed for reasoning in the maintenaunce of his owne religion. For kyng Utopus, euen at the firste beginning, hearing yat the inhabitauntes of the land wer before his comming thether, at continuall diffention and strife amonge themselues for their religions: perceyuing also that this common diffention (whiles euery feuerall secte tooke feuerall partes in fighting for their countrey) was the only occasion of his conquest ouer them al, assone as he had gotten the victory: Firste of all he made a decree, that it should be lawfull for euerie man to fauoure and folow what religion he would, and that he mighte do the best he could to bring other to his opinion, so that he did it peaceable, gentelie, quietly, and soberlie, without hastie and contentious rebuking and inuehing against other. If he could not by faire and gentle speche induce them vnto his opinion yet he should vse no kinde of violence, and refraine from displeasaunte and seditious woordes. To him that would vehemently and feruentlye in this cause strue and contende was decreed, banishment or bondage. This lawe did kynge Utopus make not only for the maintenaunce of peace, which he saw through continuall contention and mortal hatred vtterly extinguished: but also because he thought this decreie should make for the furtheraunce of religion. Wherof he durst define and determine nothing vnad-

Seditious
reasoners pun-
ished

vsedlie, as douting whether god desiering manifolde
 and diuerse sortes of honour, would inspire sondry men
 with sondrie kindes of religion, And this fuerly he
 thought a very vnmete and folish thing, and a point of
 arrogant presumption, to compell all other by violence
 and threatenings to agre to the same, that thou
 beleuest to be trew. Furthermore thoughte there be
 one religion, whiche alone is trew, and al other vaine
 and superstitious, yet did he wel foresee (so that the
 matter were handeled with reason, and sober modestie)
 that the trueth of the own powre would at the last
 issue out and come to lyghte. But if contention and
 debate in that behalfe should continuallye be vsed, as
 the woofte men be mooste obstinate and stubbourne, and
 in their euyl opinion mooste constante: he perceaued
 that then the beste and holiest religion woulde be troden
 vnderfote and destroyed by most vaine supersticions,
 euen as good corne is by thornes and weedes ouer-
 grown and chooked. Therefore all this matter he
 lefte vndiscussed, and gaue to euerye man free libertie
 and choise to beleue what he woulde. Sauinge that
 he earnestelye and stratelye charged them, that no
 man should conceaue so vile and baase an
 opinion of the dignitie of mans nature, as
 to think that the soules do die and perishe
 with the bodye: or that the world runneth at al
 auentures gouerned by no diuine prouidence. And
 therefore thei beleue that after this life vices be ex-
 tremelye punished and vertues bountiffully rewarded.
 Hym that is of a contrary opinion they counte not in
 the numbre of men, as one that hath aualed the
 heighe nature of hys soule to the vienes of brute
 beastes bodies: muche lesse in the numbre of their
 citziens, whose lawes and ordenaunces, if it were not
 for feare, he wold nothing at al esteeme. For you
 maye be fuer that he will studie either with craft
 priuely to mocke, or els violently to breake the comen
 lawes of his countrey, in whom remaineth no further
 feare then of the lawes, nor no further hope then of the

No vile opini-
 on to be con-
 ceaued of mans
 worthy nature

bodye. Whertore he that is thus minded is deprived of all honours, excluded from all common adminiftrations in the weale publike. And thus he is of all fortes despised, as of an vnprofitable, and of a bafe and vile nature. Howbeit they put him to no punishment, becaufe they be perfuaded, that it is in no mans power to beleue what he list. No nor they conftreine hym not with threatninges to difsemble his minde, and fhew countenaunce contraie to his thought. For deceit and falshod and all maners of lies, as nexte vnto fraude, they do maruelouſlie deteste and abhorre. But they fuffer him not to difpute in his opinion, and that onelye amonge the common people. For els aparte amonge the priestes and men of grauitie they do not onelye fuffer, but alſo exhorte him to difpute and argue : hoping that at the laſt, that madnes will geue place to reaſon. There be alſo other, and of them no ſmall numbere, which be not forbidden to ſpeake theyr mindes, as grounding their opinion vpon ſome reaſon, beyng in their liuing neither euell nor vicious. Their hereſie is much contrarie to the other. For they beleue that the ſoules of brute beaſtes be immortall and euerlaſting. But nothyng to be compared with oures in dignitie, neither ordeined nor predeſtinate to like felicitie. For al they beleue certainly and ſewerly that mans bleſſe ſhal be ſo great, that they do mourne and lament euery mans ſicknes, but no mans death. oneles it be one whome they ſee depart from his life carefullie, and agaynſt his will. For this they take for a verie euell token, as though the ſoule beyng in diſpaire, and vexed in conſcience, through ſome priuie and ſecret forefeiling of the puniſhment now at hande were aſerde to depart. And they thinke he ſhall not be welcome to God, which when he is called, runneth not to him gladlye, but is drawn by force and fore againſt his will. They therfore that ſee this kinde of deathe, do abhorre it,

Irreligious
people ſecl-
ded from all
honours.

A very ſtraung
ſayinge

Deceit and falſ-
hod deteſted

A maruelous
ſtraunge opi-
nion touching
the ſoules of
brute beaſtes

To die vnwil-
lyngly an euell
token.

and them that so die, they burie with sorow and silence. And when they haue praised God to be mercifull to the soule, and mercifully to pardon the infirmities therof, they couer the dead coorse with earth. Contrariwise all that departe merely and full of good hope, for them no man mourneth, but followeth the heerse with ioyfull synging, commend-
 ing the soules to God with great affection. And at the last, not with mourning sorrow, but with a great reuerence they bourne the bodies. And in the same place they sette vp a pillar of stone, with the dead mans titles therein graued. When they be come home they reherse his vertuous maners and his good dedes. But no part of his life is so oft or gladly talked of, as his meritedeth. They thinke that this remembraunce of the vertue and goodnes of the dead doeth vehemently prouoke and enforce the liuing to vertue. And that nothing can be more pleasaunt and acceptable to the deade. Whom they suppose to be present among them, when they talke of them, though to the dull and feble eiesight of mortall men they be inuisible. For it were an vnconuenient thinge, that the blessed shoulde not be at libertie to goo whether they woulde. And it were a pointe of greates vnkindnes in them to haue vtterly cast awaye the desire of visitinge and seing their fiendes, to whome they were in their life time ioyned by mutuall loue and amitie. Whiche in good men after their deathe they counte to be rather increased then diminished. They beleue therefore that the deade be presentlye conuersaunt amonge the quicke, as beholders and witnessers of all their wordes and dedes. Therefore they go more corragiously to their busines as hauing a trust and affiaunce in such ouerseers. And this same belefe of the present conuersation of their forefathers and auncestous among them, feareth them from all secrete dishonestie. They vtterly despise and mocke sothsaynges and diuinations of thinges to come by the flighte or voices of birdes, and

A willing and
 a merie deathe
 not to be lamented

Sothsayers
 not regarded
 nor credited

all other diuinations of vaine superstition, whiche in other countreys be in greate obseruation. But they hughlye esteeme and worshippe miracles that come by no healpe of nature, as woorkes and witnessses of the presente power of God. And suche they saye do chaunce there verye often. And sometimes in great and doubtfull matters, by commen intercession and prayers, they procure and obteine them with a sure hope and confidence, and a steadfast belefe.

Miracles

The life contemplatue

They thinke that the contemplation of nature, and the prayse thereof comminge, is to God a very acceptable honour. Yet there be many so earnestly bent and affectioned to religion, that they passe nothing for lerning, nor geue their mindes to any knowledge of thinges. But ydelnes they vt-

The life actiue

terly forsake and eschue, thinking felicitie after this life to be gotten and obtained by busie labors and good exercises. Some therfore of them attende vpon the sicke, some amende high waies, cleanse ditches, repaire bridges, diggeurfes, grauell, and stones, fel and cleaue wood, bring wood, corne and other thinges into the cities in cartes, and serue not onelye in commen woorkes, but also in priuate laboures as seruantes, yea, more then bondmen. For what so euer vnpleasaunt, harde, and vile worke is anye where, from the whiche labour, lothsomnes, and desperation doth fraye other, al that they take vpon them willingly and gladly, procuring quiete and rest to other, remaininge in continual worke and labour themselues, not embraidinge others therewith. They neither reprove other mens lues, nor glorie in their owne. These men the more seruiceable they behaue themselues, the more they be honoured of all men. Yet they be diuided into two sectes. The one is of them that lue single and chaste, absteyning not onely from the companie of women, but also from eating of fleshe, and some of them from all maner of beastes. Whiche vtterly reiecting the pleasures of this present life as hurtfull, be all wholye set vpon the desier of the lyfe to come by watchynge, and sweatyng, hoop-

inge shortly to obtaine it, being in the meane season merie and lustie. The other secte is no lesse desirous of laboure, but they embrace matrimonye, not despisinge the solace theriof, thinking that they can not be discharged of their bounden duties towards nature without labour and toyle, nor towards their native countrey without procreation of children. They abstaine from no pleasure that doeth nothinge hinder them from laboure. They loue the flesh of foure footed beastes, bicause they beleue that by yat meate they be made hardier and stronger to worke.

It is not all
one to be wise
and good

The Utopians counte this secte the wiser, but the other the holier Which in that they preferre single life before matrimony, and that sharp life before an easier life, if herein they grounded vpon reason they would mock them. But now forasmuch as they say they be led to it by religion, they honor and worship them. And these be they whom in their language by a peculiar name, they cal Buthrescas, the which word by interpretation signifieth to vs men of religion or religious men. They haue priestes exceeding holnes, and therefore very few.

Priestes

For there be but xij. in euery citie accordinge to the number of their churches, sauyng when they go furthe to battell. For than. vij. of them goo furth with the armie: in whose steades so manie newe be made at home. But the other at their retourne home again reentre euery one into his owne place, they that be aboute the numbre, vntill suche time as they succede into the places of the other at their dyinge, be in the meane season continuallie in companie with the bishoppe. For he is the chiefe heade of them al. They be chosen of the people, as the other magistrates be by secrete voices for the auoydinge of strife. After their election they be consecrate of their own companie. They be ouerseers of al diuine matters, orderers of religions, and as it wer iudges and maisters of maners. And it is a great dishonestie and shame to be rebuked or spoken to by any of them for dissolute and incont-

ent liuing. But as it is their office to geue good exhortations and counfel, fo is it ye dutie of the prince and the other magiftrates to correct and punifhe offenders, fauing that the prieftes, whome they find exceading vicious liuers, them they excommunicate from hauing anye intereft in diuine matters. And there is almoſte no puniſhement amonge them more feared. For they runne in verye great infamie, and be inwardly tormented with a ſecret feare of religion, and ſhall not long ſcape free with their bodies. For vnleſſe they by quicke repentaunce approue the amendement of their liues to the prieftes, they be taken and puniſhed of the counfel, as wicked and irreligious. Both childhode and youth is inſtructed, and taught of them. Nor they be not more diligente to inſtructe them in learning, then in vertue and good maners. For they vſe with verie great endeouour and diligence to put into the heades of their children, whiles they be yet tender and phaunte, good opinions and profitable for the conſeruatiō of their weale publike. Which when they be once rooted in children, do remayne with them al their life after, and be wonders profitable for the defence and maintenaunce of the ſtate of the common welth. Whiche neuer decaieth but throughe vices riſing of euill opinions. The prieftes, onles they be women (for that kinde is not excluded from priethood, howbeit fewe be choſen, and none but widdowes and old women) the men prieftes, I ſaye, take to their wiſes the chiefeſt women in all their countreye. For to no office among the Utopians is more honour and preeminence geuen. In ſo much that if they commit any offence, they be vnder no common iudgement, but be left only to god and themſelves. For thei thinke it not lawfull to touch him with mannes hande, be he neuer ſo vitious, which after ſo ſingular a ſort was dedicate and conſecrate to god, as a holly offering. This maner may they eaſely obſerue, bicauſe they haue ſo fewe prieftes, and do chuſe them with ſuch circumſpec-

Excommunica-
tion.Women prie-
ſtesThe maiestie
and preemi-
nence of
prieſtes

tion. For it safely euer chaunceth, that the moſte vertuous amonge vertuous, which in reſpect only of his vertue is auauced to ſo high a dignaty, can fall to vice and wickednes. And if it ſhould chaunce in dede (as mans nature is mutable and fraile) yet by reaſon they be ſo fewe, and promoted to no might nor powre, but only to honour, it were not to be feared yat anye great damage by them ſhould happen and enſue to the common wealthe. They haue ſo rare and fewe prieſtes, leaſt if the honour were communicated to many, ye dignity of the ordre, which among them now is ſo highly eſteemed, ſhould rune in contempt. Speciallye bicauſe they thincke it hard to find many ſo good, as to be meet for that dignity, to the execution and diſcharge whereof it is not ſufficiente to be endued with meane vertues. Furthermore theſe prieſtes be not more eſteemed of their owne countrey men, then they be of foreign and ſtraunge countreis. Which thinge maye hereby plainly appere. And I thinke alſo yat this is the cauſe of it. For whiles ye armies be fighting together in open feld they a litle beſide not farre of kneele vpon their knees in their hallowed veſtmentes, holding vp their handes to heauen: praing firſt of all for peace, nexte for vitory of their owne parte, but to neyther part a bluddy victory. If their hoſt gette the vpper hand, they runne in to the mayne battayle, and reſtrayne their owne men from ſleying and cruelly purſuinge there vanquyſhed enemies. Whyche enemyes, yf they doo but ſee them and ſpeake to them, it is ynoughe for the ſauegarde of there lyues. And the touching of there clothes defendeth and ſaueth al their gooddes from raune and ſpoyle. This thinge hathe auauced them to ſo greate wourſhip and trewe maieſty among al nations, that manye times they haue aſwel preferred there own citizens from ye cruel force of their enemies, as they haue there enemies from the furyous rage of there owne men. For it is well knowen, that when there owne army hathe reculed, and in dyſpayre turned backe, and runne away, their ennemies fyrſlye purſuing

with slaughter and spoyle, then the priestes cumming betwene haue stayed the murder, and parted bothe the hostes. So that p̄ace hath bene made and concluded betwene bothe partes vpon equall and indifferent conditions. For there was neuer any nation, so fierce, so cruell, and rude, but they hadde them in such reuerence, that they counted their bodyes hallowed and sanctified, and therefore not to be violentlye and vnreuerentlye touched.

They kepe hollye the firste and the laste daye of euery moneth and yere, diuidinge the
The obserua-
tion of holy
daies amonge
the Utopians
yeare into monethes, whyche they measure by the course of the moone, as they doo the yere by the course of the sonne. The fyrste dayes they call in their language Lynemernes, and the laste Trapemernes, the whyche woordes may be interpreted, primifeste and finifest, or els in our speache, first feaste and last feast. Their churches be
Their churches
verye gorgious, and not onely of fine and curious workemanship, but also (which in the fewenes of them was necessary) very wide and large, and hable to receaue a great company of people. But they be al
Churches of
dimme light
and a reason
why
sumwhat darke. Howbeit that was not donne through ignoraunce in buildinge, but as they say, by the counsel of the priestes. Bicause they thought that ouer much light doth disperse mens cogitations, whereas in dimme and doubtful lighte they be gathered together, and more earnestly fixed vpon religion and deuotion: which bicause it is not there of one sort among all men, and yet all the kindes and fassions of it, thoughte they be sondry and manifold, agre together in the honour of the diuine nature, as goyng diuers wayes to one ende: therefore nothing is sene nor heard in ye churches, but that semeth to agre indefferently with them all. If there be a distinct kind of sacrifice peculiar to anye seuerall secte, that they execute at home in their owne houses. The common sacrifices be so ordered, that they be no derogation nor preiudice to anye of the priuate sacrifices and religions. Therefore no ymage of annye god is seene in

the church, to the intende it maye bee free for euery man to conceiue god by their religion after what likenes and similitude they will. They call vpon no peculiar name of god, but only Mithra In the which word they all agree together in one nature of the diuine maiesty whatsoeuer it be. No prayers bee vsed but suche as euerye man maye boldelie pronounce withoute the offendinge of anny secte. They come therefore to the church, the laste day of euerye moneth and yeare in the euenynge yet fastinge, there to gyue thanks to GOD for that they haue prosperouslye passed ouer the yeare or monethe, wherof that hollye daye is the laste daye. The nexte daye they come to the church earlye in the mornynge, to praye to GOD that they maye haue good fortune and succeffe all the newe yeare or monethe whych they doo begynne of that same hollye daye. But in the holly dayes that be the laste dayes of the monethes and yeares, before they come to the church, the wiues fall downe prostrat before their husbandes

The confessi-
on of the Uto-
pians

feet at home, and the children before the feete of their parentes, confessinge and acknowleginge themselves offenders either by some actuall dede, or by omission of their deuty, and desire pardon for their offense. Thus yf anye cloude of priuy displeasure was risen at home, by this satisfaccion it is ouerblowne, that they may be presente at the sacrifices with pure and charitable mindes. For they be aserd to come there with troubled consciences. Therefore if they knowe themselves to beare anye hatred or grudge towards anye man, they presume not to come to ye sacrifices, before they haue reconciled themselves and purged their consciences, for feare of greate vengeance and punyshement for their offense. When they come thether, the men goo into

An order for
places in the
Church

the ryghte syde of the church, and the women into the lefte syde. There they place themselves in suche ordre, that all they whyche be of the male kinde in euery household sitte before the goodman of ye house, and they of the female

kinde before the goodwyfe. Thus it is forfene that all their gestures and behauiours be marked and obserued abrode of them by whose authority and discipline they be gouerned at home. This also they diligently see vnto, that the younger euermore be coupled with his elder, lest children beinge ioyned together, they should passe ouer yat time in childish wantonnes, wherein they ought principally to conceaue a religious and deuoute feare towards god : which is the chieffe and almost ye only incitation to vertu. They kill no liuing beast in sacrifice, nor they thinke not that the merciful clemencye of god hath delite in bloude and slaughter, which hath geuen liffe to beastes to the intent they should liue. They burne frankincense, and other sweet sauours, and light also a greate numbere of waxe candelles and tapers, not supposinge this geare to be any thing auaylable to the diuine nature, as neither ye prayers of men. But this vnhurtful and harmeles kind of worship pleaseth them. And by thies sweet sauoures and lightes, and other such ceremonies men feelee themselves secretlye lifted vp, and encouraged to deuotion with more willynge and feruent hartes. The people weareth in the churche white apparell, The priest is clothed in chaungeable colours. Whiche in workemanshipe bee excellent, but in stufte not verye pretious. For their vestimentes be neither embraudered with gold, nor set with precious stones. But they be wrought so fynely and conningelye with diuers fethers of foules, that the estimation of no costely stufte is hable to counteruaile the price of the worke. Furthermore in these birdes fethers, and in the dewe ordre of them, whiche is obserued in their setting, they saye, is conteyned certaine diuine misteries. The interpretation whereof knowne, whiche is diligently taught by the priestes, they be put in remembraunce of the bountifull benefites of God towarde them : and of the loue and honoure whiche of their behalfe is dewe to God : and also of their deuties one towarde another. When the priest first

Ceremonies.

commeth out of the vestry thus apparelled, they fall downe incontinent euerye one reuerentlye to the ground, with so still silence on euerye part, that the very fassion of the thinge striketh into them a certayne feare of God, as though he were there personally presente. When they haue lien a litle space on the ground, the priest geueth them a signe for to ryse. Then they sing prayes vnto God, whiche they intermixt with instruments of musicke, for the moste parte of other fassions then these that we vse in this parte of the worlde. And like as some of ours kee muche sweter then theirs, so some of theirs doo farre passe ours. But in one thinge doubtles they goe exceeding farre beyonde vs. For all their musike bothe that they playe vpon instrumentes, and that they singe with mannes voyce dothe so resemble and expresse naturall affections, the sound and tune is so applied and made agreeable to the thinge, that whether it bee a prayer, or els a dytty of gladnes, of patience, of trouble, of mournynge, or of anger; the fassion of the melodye dothe so represente the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfullye moue, stirre, pearce, and enflame the hearers myndes. At the laste the people and the priest together rehearse solempne prayers in woordes, expresselye pronounced, so made that euerye man maye priuatelye applye to hymselfe that which is commonlye spoken of all. In these prayers euerye man recogniseth and knowledgethe God to be hys maker, hys gouernoure, and the principal cause of all other goodnes, thankynge him for so many benefites receaued at his hande. But namelye that throughe the fauoure of God he hath chaunced into that publyque weale, whiche is moste happye and welthye, and hath chosen that religion, whyche he hopeth to be moste true. In the whyche thinge if he doo anye thinge erre, or yf there be any other better then eyther of them is, being more acceptable to God, he desiereth him that he wyl of his goodnes let him haue knowledge thereof, as one that

Theire church
musike

Prayers

is ready too followe what way foeuer he wyll leade hym. But yf this fourme and fassion of a commen wealthe bee beste, and his owne relygion most true and perfecte, then he desyrethe GOD to gyue hym a constaunte stedefastnes in the same, and too brynge all other people to the same ordre of lyuyng, and to the same opinion of God onles there bee annye thunge that in this diuerfitye of religions dothe delite his vnfercheable pleasure. To be shorte he prayeth hym, that after his deathe he maye come to hym. But how soone or late that he dare not affynge or determine. Howebeit, if it myght stande with his maiesties pleasure, he woulde be muche gladder to dye a paynefull deathe and so to goo to God, then by longe lyuing in worldlye prosperitye to bee awaye from him. Whan this prayer is said they fal doun to the ground again and a lytle after they ryse vp and go to dinner. And the resydewe of the daye they passe ouer in playes, and exercise of cheualrye.

Nowe I haue declared and described vnto you, as truely as I coulde the fourme and ordre of that commen wealth, which verely in my iudgment is not only the beste, but also that which alone of good right maye claime and take vpon it the name of a commen wealth or publique weale. For in other places they speake stil of the commen wealth. But euery man procureth his owne priuate gaine. Here where nothinge is priuate, the commen affaires bee earnestlye looked vpon. And truely on both partes they haue good cause so to do as they do. For in other countreys who knoweth not that he shall sterue for honger, onles he make some feuerall prouision for himselfe, though the commen wealthe floryshe neuer so muche in ryches? And therefore he is compelled euen of verry necessitie to haue regarde to him selfe, rather then to the people, that is to saye, to other. Contrarywyse there where all thinges be commen to euery man, it is not to be doubted that any man shal lacke anye thunge necessary for his priuate vses: so that the commen store houses and barnes be sufficientlye stored.

For there nothinge is distributed after a nyggyſhe ſorte, neither there is anye poore man or begger. And thoughte no man haue anye thinge, yet euerye man is ryche. For what can be more riche, then to lyue ioyfully and merely, without al grieve and penſifenes: Not caring for his owne lyuing, nor vexed or troubled with his wiſes importunate complayntes, nor dreadynge pouertie to his ſonne, nor ſorrowyng for his daughters dowrey? Yea they take no care at all for the lyuing and wealthe of themſelves and al theirs, of their wyſes, their chyldren, their nephewes, their childrens chyldren, and all the ſucceſſion that euer ſhall followe in their poſteritie. And yet beſydes this there is no leſſe prouifion for them that were ones labourers, and be nowe weake and impotent, then for them that do nowe labour and take payne. Here nowe woulde I ſee, yf anye man dare bee ſo bolde as to compare with this equityte, the iuſtice of other nations. Among whom, I forſake God, if I can fynde any ſigne or token of equityte and iuſtice. For what iuſtice is this, that a ryche goldeſmythe, or an vſurer, or to bee ſhorte anye of them, which either doo nothing at all, or els that whyche they doo is ſuch, that it is not very neceſſary to the common wealth, ſhould haue a pleaſaunte and a welthie lyunge, either by Idlenes, or by vn-neceſſarye buſines: When in the meane tyme poore labourers, carters, yronſmythes, carpenters, and plowmen, by ſo greate and continual toyle, as drawing and bearing beaſtes be ſkant hable to ſuſteine, and againe ſo neceſſary toyle, that without it no common wealth were hable to continewe and endure one yere, ſhould yet get ſo harde and poore a lyuing, and lyue ſo wretched and miſerable a lyfe, that the ſtate and condition of the labouringe beaſtes maye ſeme muche better and welthier? For they be not put to ſo continuall labour, nor their lyuinge is not muche worſe, yea to them muche pleaſaunter, takyng no thoughte in the meane ſeaſon for the tyme to come. But theſe ſeilye poore wretches be preſently tormented

with barreyne and vnfrutefull labour. And the remembrance of theire poore indigent and beggerlye olde age kylleth them vp. For theire dayly wages is so lytle, that it will not suffice for the same daye, muche lesse it yeldeth any ouerplus, that may daylye be layde vp for the relyefe of olde age. Is not this an vniust and an vnkynde publyque weale, whyche gyueth great fees and rewardes to gentlemen, as they call them, and to goldsmithes, and to suche other, whiche be either ydle persones, or els onlye flatterers, and deuysers of vayne pleasures: And of the contrary parte maketh no gentle prouision for poore plowmen, colliers, laborers, carters, yronsmithes, and carpenters: without whome no common wealth can continewe? But after it hath abused the labours of theire lusty and flowring age, at the laste when they be oppressed with olde age and fyckeness: being nedye, poore, and indigent of all thinges, then forgettyng theire so manye paynefull watchinges, not remembring their so manye and so greate benefites, recompenseth and acquyteth them moste vnkindly with myserable death. And yet besides this the riche men not only by priuate fraud, but also by common lawes do euery day pluck and snatche away from the poore some parte of their daily liuing. So where as it seemed before vniuste to recompense with vnkindnes their paynes that haue bene beneficiall to the publyque weale, nowe they haue to this their wrong and vniuste dealinge (which is yet a muche worse pointe) geuen the name of iustice, yea and that by force of a law. Therefore when I consider and way in my mind all these common wealthes, which now a dayes any where do flourish, so god helpe me, I can perceauie nothing but a certein conspiracy of riche men procuringe theire owne commodities vnder the name and title of the common wealth. They inuent and deuise all meanes and craftes, first how to kepe safely, without feare or lesing, that they haue vniustly gathered together, and next how to hire and abuse the worke and labour of the poore for as litle money as may be. These deuises, when the

riche men haue decreed to be kept and obserued vnder
 coloure of the comminaltie, that is to saye, also of the
 pore people, then they be made lawes. But these most
 wicked and vicious men, when they haue by their vnſati-
 able couetouſnes deuided among them ſelues al thoſe
 thinges, whiche woulde haue ſufficed all men, yet how
 faire be they from the wealth and felicitie of the Uto-
 pian commen wealth? Out of the which,
 Contempte of Money in that all the deſire of money with the
 uſe thereof is vtterly ſecluded and baniſhed, howe
 greate a heape of cares is cut away? How great an
 occaſion of wickednes and miſchiefe is plucked vp by
 ye rotes? For who knoweth not, that fraud, theft,
 rauine, brauling, quarelling, brabbling, ſtriſſe, chiding,
 contention, murder, treaſon, poiſoning, which by daily
 puniſhmentes are rather reuenged then reſtrained, do
 dye when money dieth. And alſo that feare, griefe,
 care, laboures, and watchinges do periſh euen the very
 ſame moment that money periſheth? Yea pouerty it
 ſelfe, which only ſemed to lacke money, if money
 were gone, it alſo would decreaſe and vaniſhe away.
 And that you may perceauē this more plainly, conſider
 with your ſelves ſome barein and vnfruteful yeare,
 wherein manye thouſandes of people haue ſtarued for
 honger: I dare be bolde to ſay, yat in the end of that
 penury ſo much corne or grain might haue bene
 found in the rich mens bernies, if they had bene ſearched,
 as being diuided among them whome famine and
 peſtilence then conſumed, no man at al ſhould haue
 felt that plague and penuri. So eaſely might men
 gette their liuing, if that ſame worthy princeſſe lady
 money did not alone ſtop vp the waye betwene vs
 and our lyuing, which a goddeſ name was very
 excellently deuifed and inuented, that by her the
 way therto ſhould be opened. I am ſewer the ryche
 men perceauē this, nor they be not ignoraunte how
 much better it were too lacke noo neceſſarye thing,
 then to abunde with ouermuche ſuperfluite: to be ryd
 oute of innumerable cares and troubles, then to be be-

feigned and encombred with great ryches. And I dowte not that either the respecte of euery mans priuate commoditie, or els the authority of oure sauoure Christe (which for his great wisdom could not but know what were best, and for his inestimable goodnes could not but counsel to that which he knew to be best) wold haue brought all the worlde longe agoo into the lawes of this weale publique, if it wer not yat one only beaft, ye princeffe and mother of all mischiefe Pride, doth withstande and let it. She measureth not wealth and prosperity by her owne commodities, but by the miserie and incommodities of other, she would not by her good will be made a goddesse, yf there were no wretches left, ouer whom she might like a scorneful ladie rule and triumph, ouer whose miseries her felicities mighte shyne, whose pouertie she myghte vexe, tormente, and encrease by gorgiouslye settinge furthe her richesse. Thys hell hounde creapeth into mens hartes: and plucketh them backe from entering the right pathe of life, and is so depely roted in mens brestes, that she can not be plucked out. This fourme and fashion of a weale publique, which I would gladly wish vnto al nations. I am glad yet that it hath chaunced to the Utopians, which haue folowed those institutons of life, whereby they haue laid such foundations of their common wealth, as shal continew and last not only wealthely, but also as far as mans wit may iudge and coniecture, shall endure for euer. For, seyng the chiefe causes of ambition and sedition, with other vices be plucked vp by the rootes, and abandoned at home, there can be no ieopardie of domistickall diffention, whiche alone hathe caste vnder foote and brought to noughte the well fort[if]ied and stronglie defenced wealth and riches of many cities. But forasmuch as perfect concorde remaineth, and wholsome lawes be executed at home, the enuie of al forein princes be not hable to shake or moue the empire, though they haue many tymes long ago gone about to do it, beyng euermore driuen backe.

Thus when Raphaell hadde made an ende of his tale, though many thinges came to my mind, which in the maners and lawes of that people seemed to be instituted and founded of no good reason, not onely in the fashion of their cheualry, and in their sacrifices and religions, and in other of their lawes, but also, yea and chiefly, in that which is the principal foundation of al their ordinances, that is to say, in the communitie of their life and liuyng, withoute anye occupieng of money, by the whiche thynge onelye all nobilitie, magnificence, wourshippe, honour, and maiestie, the true ornamentes and honoures, as the common opinion is, of a common wealth, vtterlye be ouerthrowen and destroyed: yet because I knew that he was wery of talking, and was not sure whether he coulde abyde that anye thyng shoulde be sayde againste hys mynde: speciallye remembryng that he had reprehended this faulte in other, which be aferde lest they should seme not to be wise enough, onles they could find some fault in other mens inuentions: therfore I praisynge both their institutions and hys communication, toke him by the hand, and led him into supper: sayynge that we woulde chuse an other time to waye and examine the same matters, and to talke with him moore at large therin. Whiche woulde God it might ones come to passe. In the meane time as I can not agree and consent to all thinges that he saide, beyng els without doubt a man singularly well learned, and also in all worldelye matters exactly and profoundly experienced: so must I nedes confesse and graunt that many thinges be in the Utopian weale publique, whiche in our cities I maye rather wishe for, then hope after.

¶ Thus endeth the afternoones talke
of Raphael Hythlodays concernynge
the lawes and institutions of the Ilande
of Utopia.

To the right honourable Hierome Buslyde, prouost Arienn, and counselloure to the catholike kinge Charles, Peter Gyles, Cittizen of Antwerpe, wisheth health and felicitie.



Thomas More the singular ornamente of this our age, as you your self (right honourable Buslyde) can witnesse, to whome he is perfectly wel knownen, sent vnto me this other day the ylande of Utopia, to very few as yet knownen, but most worthy, which as farre excelling Platoes commen wealthe, all people shoulde be willinge to know: specially of a man most eloquent so finely set furth, so conningly painted out, and so euidently subiect to the eye, that as oft as I reade it, me thinketh that I see somewhat more, then when I heard Raphael Hythloday himselfe (for I was present at that talke aswell as master More) vtterying and pronouncing his owne woordes: Yea, though the same man, accordinge to his pure eloquence, did so open and declare the matter, that he might plainly enough appeare, to reporte not thinges, which he had learned of others onelye by hearesay, but which he had with his own eyes presently sene, and thoroughly vewed, and wherein he had no smal time bene conuerfant and abiding: a man trulie, in mine opinion, as touching the knowledge of regions, peoples, and worldly experience, muche passinge, yea euen they very famous and renowmed trauailer Vlysses: and in dede suche a one, as for the space of these viij. c. [eight hundred] yeres past I think nature into the worlde brought not forth his like: in comparison of whome Vespuce maye be thought to haue sene nothing. Moreouer, wheras we be wont more effectually and pitthely to declare and expresse thinges that we haue sene, then whiche we haue but onelye hearde, there was besides that in this man a certain peculiar grace, and singular dexteritie to discrue and set furth a matter withall. Yet the selfe same thinges as ofte as I beholde and con-

sider them drawen and painted oute with master Morea
 pensille, I am therewith so moued, so delited, so inflamed,
 and so rapt, that sometime me think I am presently
 conuerfaunt, euen in the ylande of Utopia. And I pro-
 mise you, I can skante beleue that Raphael himselfe by
 al that fye yerres space that he was in Utopia abiding,
 saw there somuch, as here in master Mores description
 is to be sene and perceaued. Whiche description with
 so manye wonders, and miraculous thinges is repleni-
 shed, that I stande in great doubt wherat first and chief-
 lie to muse or marueile: whether at the excellencie of
 his perfect and furer memorie, which could welnuegh
 worde by woorde rehearse so manye thinges once onely
 heard: or elles at his singular prudence, who so well
 and wittily marked and bare away al the originall causes
 and fountaynes (to the vulgare people commenly most
 vnknownen) wherof both yffueth and springeth the mor-
 tall confusion and vtter decaye of a commen wealth, and
 also the auancement and wealthy state of the same may
 riese and growe: or elles at the efficacie and pitthe of
 his woordes, which in so fine a latin stile, with suche
 force of eloquence hath couched together and com-
 prised so many and diuers matters, speciallie beinge a
 man continuallie encombred with so manye busye and
 troublesome cares, both publike, and priuate, as he
 is. Howbeit all these thinges cause you litle to mar-
 uell (righte honourable Buslid) for that you are fami-
 liarly and thoroughly acquainted with the notable, yea
 almost diuine witte of the man. But nowe to procede
 to other matters, I fuerly know nothing nedeful or re-
 quisite to be adioyned vnto his writings: Onely a
 meter of iiij verses written in the Utopian tongue,
 whiche after master Mores departure Hythloday by
 chaunce shewed me, that haue I caused to be added
 thereto, with the Alphabete of the same nation, and
 haue also garnished the margent of the boke with cer-
 ten notes. For, as touchinge the situation of the
 ylande, that is to saye, in what parte of the worlde
 Utopia standeth, the ignoraunce and lacke whereof noi

a litle troubleth and greueth master More. in dede Raphael left not that vnspoken of. Howbeit with verie fewe wordes he lightly touched it, incidentlye by ye way passing it ouer, as meanyng of likelihod to kepe and referue that to an other place. And the same, I wot not how, by a certen euell and vnluckie chaunce escaped vs bothe. For when Raphael was speaking therof, one of master Mores seruantes came to him, and whispered in his eare. Wherefore I beyng then of purpose more earnestly addict to heare, one of the company, by reason of cold taken, I thinke, a shippeborde, coughed out so loude, that he toke from my hearinge certen of his wordes. But I wil neuer stynte, nor rest, vntil I haue gotte the full and exacte knowledge hereof. insomuche that I will be hable perfectly to instructe you, not onely in the longitude or true meridian of the ylande, but also in the iust latitude therof, that is to say, in the subleuation or height of the pole in that region, if our frende Hythloday be in safetie, and aliue. For we heare very vncerten newes of him. Some reporte, that he died in his iorney homeward. Some agayne affirme, that he retorned into his countrey, but partly, for that he coulde not away with the fashions of his countrey folk, and partly for that his minde and affection was altogether fet and fixed vpon Utopia, they say that he hathe taken his voyage thetherwarde agayne. Now as touching this, that the name of this yland is nowhere founde amonge the olde and auncient cosmographers, this doubte Hythloday himselfe verie well dissolued. For why it is possible enoughe (quod he) that the name, whiche it had in olde time, was afterwarde chaunged, or elles that they neuer had knowledge of this iland: forasmuch as now in our time diuers landes be found, which to the olde Geographers were vnknown. Howbeit, what nedeth it in this behalfe to fortifie the matter with argumentes, seyngemaster More is author hereof sufficient? But whereas he doubteth of the edition or imprinting of the booke, indeede herein I both commende, and also knowledge the

mannes modestie. Howbeit vnto me it semeth a worke most vnworthie to be long suppressed, and most worthy to go abroad intoye handes of men, yea, and vnder the title of youre name to be publyshed to the worlde: either because the singular endowmentes and qualities of master More be to no man better knowen then to you, or els bicause no man is more fitte and meete, then you with good counselles to further, and auance the commen wealth, wherein you haue many yeares already continued and trauailed with great glory and commendation, bothe of wisedome and knowledge, and also of integritie and vprightnes. Thus o liberall supporter of good learning, and floure of this oure time
I byd you moste hartely well to fare. At

Antwerpe .1516. the first daye of
Nouember

**A meter of .iiiiij. verses in the Utopian
tongue, briefly touchinge aswell the straunge
beginning, as also the happie and wealthie
continuance of the same common
wealth.**

V *Topos ha Boccas peula chama polta chamaan.*
Bargol he maglomi Baccan soma g ymnosophaon
Agrama g ymnosophon labarem bacha bodamilomin
Voluala barchin heman la lauoluala dramme pagloni.

¶ Whiche verses the translator, accordinge to his simple knowledge, and meane vnderstanding in the Utopian tongue, hath thus rudely englished.

MY kinge and conquerour Utopus by name
A prince of much renowme and immortal fame
Hath made me an yle that earst no ylande was,
Ful fraught with worldly welth with pleasure and solas.
I one of all other without philosophie
Haue shaped for man a philosophicall citie.
As myne I am nothinge daungerous to imparte,
So better to receaue I am readie with al my harte.

¶ A shorte meter of Atopia, written by Anemolius poete laureate, and nephewe to Wythodage by his sister.

ME Utopie cleped Antiquitie,
 Voyde of haunte and herboroughe,
 Nowe am I like to Platoes cite,
 Whose fame flieth the worlde throughe.
 Yea like, or rather more likely
 Platoes platte to excell and passe
 For what Platoes penne hathe platted briefly
 In naked wordes, as in a glasse,
 The same haue I perfourmed fully,
 With lawes, with men, and treasure fyttely.
 Wherefore not Utopie, but rather rightely
 My name is Eutopie: A place of felicitie.

¶ Gerarde Nouiomege of Atopia.

DOth pleasure please? then place the here, and
 well the rest,
 Most pleasaunt pleasures thou shalte finde here.
 Doeth profit ease? then here arriue, this yle is best.
 For passinge profettes do here appeare.
 Doeth bothe thee tempte, and woldest thou gripe both
 gaine and pleasure?
 This yle is fraught with both bounteously.
 To still thy gredie intent, reape here incomparable treas-
 Bothe minde and tongue to garnishe richelie. [ue
 The hid welles and fountaines both of vice and vertue
 Thou hast them here subiect vnto thine eye.
 Be thankful now, and thankes where thankes be due
 Geue to Thomas More Londons immortal glorie.

¶ Cornelius Graphey to Reader.

Vilt thou knowe what wonders straunge be in the
 lande that late was founde? [godly be?
 Wilt thou learne thy life to leade, by diuers ways that
 Wilt thou of vertue and of vice, vnderstande the very
 grounde? [vanitie?
 Wilt thou see this wretched world, how ful it is of

Then read, and marke, and beare in mind, for thy
 behoufe, as thou maie best.
 All things that in this present worke, that worthie
 clerke fir Thomas More,
 With witte diuine ful learnedly, vnto the worlde hath
 plaine exprest,
 In whom London well glory maye, for wisedome and
 for godly lore.

¶ The Printer to the Reader.



He Vtopian Alphabete, good Reader, whiche
 in the aboue written Epistle is promised,
 hereunto I haue not now adioyned, because
 I haue not as yet the true characters or four-
 mes of the Utopiane letters. And no mar-
 ueill: seyng it is a tongue to vs muche straunger then the
 Indian, the Persian, the Syrian, the Arabicke, the Egy-
 tian, the Macedonian, the Sclauonian, the ciprian, the
 Scythian etc. Which tongues though they be nothing so
 straunge among vs, as the Utopian is, yet their characters
 we hauenot. But I trust, God willing, at the next impressi-
 on hereof, to perfourme that, whiche now I can not: that is
 to saye: to exhibite perfectly vnto thee
 the Utopian Alphabete. In the
 meane time accept my good
 wyl. And so fare well.

¶ Imprinted at London in Pau.

les Church yearde, at the sygne of the
 Lambe, by Abraham Weale.

M.D.LVI.